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The Index consists of two parts:

- I An index to articles arranged under subject headings, namely Borderlands of Soviet Central Asia, Editorials, Education, History, Irrigation, Political and Cultural Affairs, Social Conditions, Book Analyses, Reviews and Notices, and the News Digest.
- II A general index of personal and geographical names, and subjects. In this index subjects (e.g. education, population) are given under the republic or country to which they refer.

. . .

It will be noticed that the text of the REVIEW contains some inconsistencies in the spelling of proper names; these are partly due to inconsistencies in Soviet publications. Every effort has been made to arrive at the most accurate spelling and, where the spelling in the REVIEW differs from that in the Index, the Index version should be taken as the correct one.

In the case of small places or new settlements, the oblast and/or republic in which each place-name occurs is as far as possible stated in the general index; in the case of the borderland countries, the name of the country is given beside the place-name.

The following abbreviations are used throughout:

Afgh.	for	Afghanistan
Azerb.	for	Azerbaydzhazhan
Kaz.	for	Kazakhstan
Kirg.	for	Kirgizia
Pak.	for	Pakistan
Sink.	for	Sinkiang
Tad.	for	Tadzhikistan
Turk.	for	Turkmenistan
Uzb.	for	Uzbekistan

In the Index references are made only to page numbers and not to issue numbers. In Volume VII of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW,

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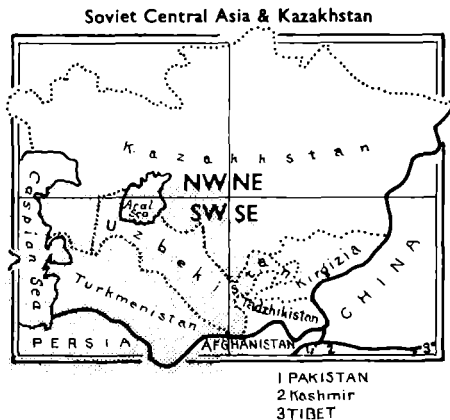
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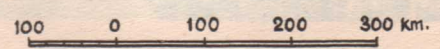


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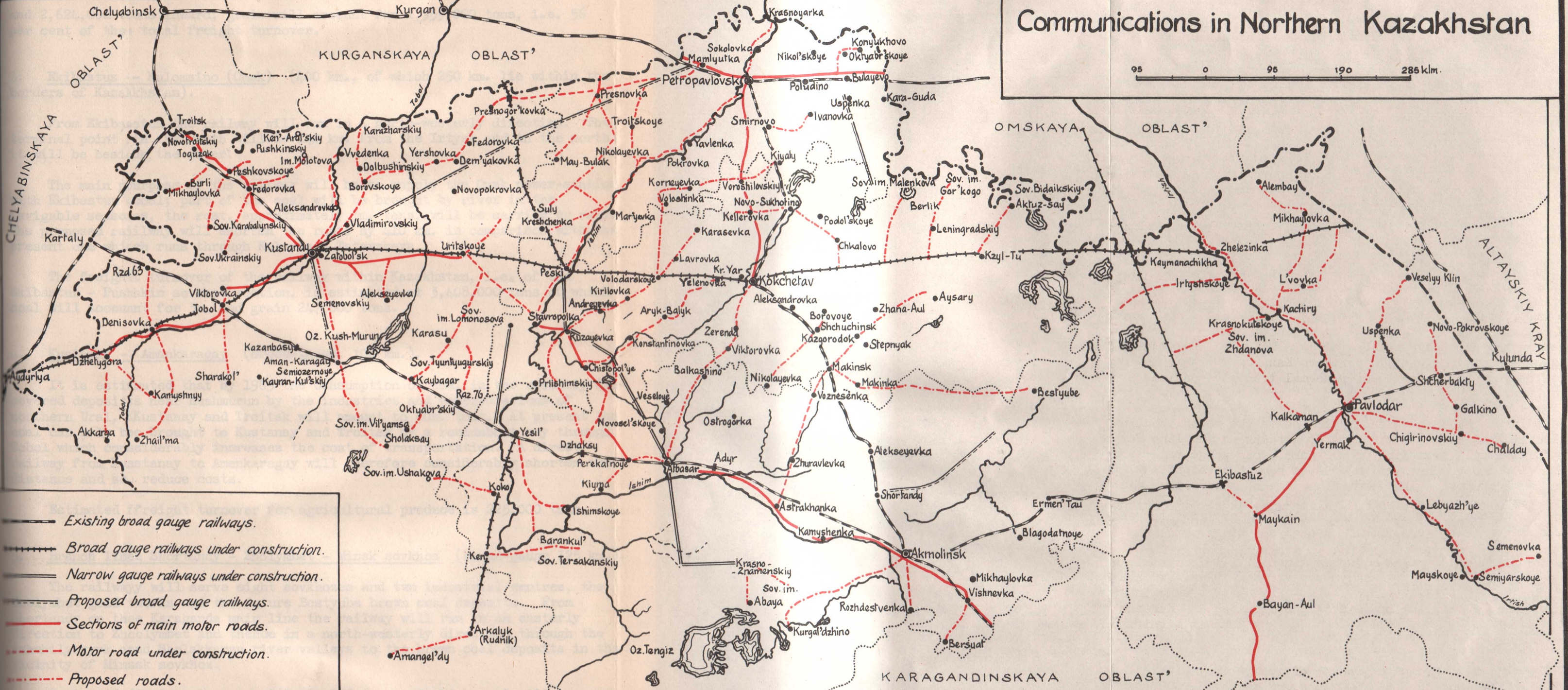
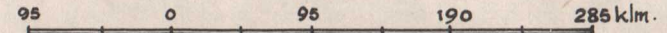
THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS  
OF  
KAZAKHSTAN, KIRGIZIA, TADZHIKISTAN,  
UZBEKISTAN, TURKMENISTAN AND AZERBAIDZHAN



- Borders of the U.S.S.R.
- Limits of Union Republics.
- Capitals of Union Republics.
- Railways.
- Canals.
- Canals under construction or projected.
- Sands.
- Main arterial road with pass.



# Communications in Northern Kazakhstan



- Existing broad gauge railways.
- Broad gauge railways under construction.
- Narrow gauge railways under construction.
- Proposed broad gauge railways.
- Sections of main motor roads.
- Motor road under construction.
- Proposed roads.





## Fergana Valley

Scale 1 : 1.000.000

- Canals.
- Main roads.
- Towns with population of under 10.000
- " " " " between 10.000 and 50.000
- " " " " 50.000 and 100.000
- " " " " over 500.000

J.P. 1956.

Specially drawn for the Central Asian Research Centre, -1956. - J.P.





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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Review when referring to the Soviet Academies of Sciences, and to newspapers and periodicals etc. employed as sources, are as follows :-

AN/SSSR	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences) of USSR
AN/Kaz. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ Kazakh SSR
AN/Kirg. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ Kirgiz SSR
AN/Tad. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ Tadjik SSR
AN/Turk. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ Turkmen SSR
AN/Uzb. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ Uzbek SSR
SAGU	Sredneaziatskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet (Central Asian State University)
BR	Bakinskiy Rabochiy
FET	Far East Trade
I	Izvestiya
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda
KT	Kommunist Tadjikistana
NT	New Times
P	Pravda
PV	Pravda Vostoka
SK	Sovetskaya Kirgiziya
SU	Soviet Union
SV	Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye
T	The Times
TI	Turkmenskaya Iskra
VVS	Vedemosti Verkhovnogo Soveta

## THE GREAT GAME

During the first half of the last century Central Asia was the scene of keen political rivalry between Russia and Britain. The Russian intention of incorporating the whole of Turkestan in the Tsarist Empire was already apparent and although the so-called Syr-Dar'ya Fortified Line was not formally reached until 1855, Russian emissaries were already probing the khanates of Khiva and Bukhara. These unmistakable signs of imminent Russian eastward and southward expansion naturally gave rise to British intelligence operations in India's borderlands and beyond. What appeared at the time as a bid for political ascendancy was described by Kaye, the historian of the first Afghan War as "the Great Game".

New attention to the Great Game and to its players has recently been drawn in the book *A PERSON FROM ENGLAND*, by Fitzroy Maclean, which gives skilfully reconstructed accounts of nineteenth century journeys to Central Asia by British officers and others, with long extracts from contemporary letters and personal memoirs, now mostly out of print and forgotten. The result is an extremely readable book, valuable not only for the human interest of the often remarkable characters involved, but also for the vivid glimpses it affords of government and society in these remote and ramshackle little empires and of the formidable difficulties and dangers facing both the individual traveller and an organized expedition.

The subject of the Great Game was treated from another angle by Professor H. W. C. Davis in the Raleigh Lecture on History, which he delivered before the British Academy in 1926. Professor Davis, although full of admiration for the courage and resource shown by such men as Alexander Burnes, Moorcroft, and many others, was by no means convinced of the necessity for the risks which they took, or of the value of the information which they obtained. He indicates over and over again that the initiative for the expeditions undertaken in Central Asia usually came from the individuals concerned, and that permission was often only reluctantly granted by the authorities. "The investigators", says Professor Davis, "quite unconsciously, were disposed to clutch at every scrap of evidence which corroborated the official theory, and to overlook the circumstances which should have inspired a prudent scepticism. They were not time-servers; but they seldom brought themselves to the point of making a detached and impartial survey of the immensely complex phenomena of Asiatic politics. They were invited to trace the ramifications of Russian diplomacy, to fathom the designs of Russian generals. They did this work efficiently and enthusiastically, with an amazing indifference to the risks and hardships of

the quest. They seldom paused to consider the intrinsic worth of the alliances which Russian agents were negotiating, or the material difficulties which were bound to hamper and might very well paralyse Russia's military plans."

Davis does not specify what the British "official theory" was and both this as well as Russian intentions are matters on which there has been a good deal of difference of opinion. Broadly speaking it may be said that Russian policy was expansionist, but not beyond the frontiers of what Gorchakov later described as "properly organized states", and only in so far as the risk of war with a major European power could be avoided. British policy was mainly concerned with the defence of India; it aimed at keeping Russian influence out of Persia and Afghanistan, but steered clear of going to war with Russia over her aspirations in the Central Asian states. This is not to say that there were no individual Russians who wished to attack India, or individual Englishmen who wished to advance into Central Asia.

Another point made by Professor Davis, which may be of some interest to Soviet historians, is that the British intelligence services in India were by no means solely preoccupied with Russia. There were in the first half of the nineteenth century four main "official seminaries" in which the intelligence officer might learn his business. These were located at Bombay, Cutch, Ludhiana and Tehran, and there were three zones to which missions were directed for the purpose of collecting information necessary to the formulation of defence policies. These three zones were, first, the approaches to the Punjab, Sind, and Afghanistan from the side of Persia; secondly, the hill states lying north and north-east of the Punjab; and lastly, the approaches to Afghanistan from Central Asia. It is of course perfectly true that suggestions for the extension of British support to the states of Central Asia were occasionally put forward by British administrators, and especially by such well-known Russophobes as Lord Lytton and McNeill; but they were hardly taken seriously by the British Government and certainly never acted upon. The Indian intelligence organizations were concerned not so much with blocking Russia's expansion in Central Asia as with surveying the routes and logistics of a possible Russian advance against India. But the individual players in the Great Game often became so obsessed with the "Russian menace" and with the ramifications of Russian political intrigue that they virtually discounted the possibility of local peoples, and the Afghans in particular, acting on their own initiative. Thus the rising of November 1841 in Kabul took Alexander Burnes completely unawares; to quote from Davis, he "had been so much absorbed in watching the horizon that he had overlooked what was taking place under his eyes and at his feet". The same tendency to underestimate nationalist stirrings and to overestimate Russia's ability to manipulate internal Eastern politics can be observed today, the most

recent case in point being the British failure to appreciate the situation in Iraq in 1958.

An interesting fact outside the scope of Maclean's work is the keen interest now being displayed by Soviet historians in the exploits of British officers and other emissaries in Central Asia. A number of long studies of these exploits have recently appeared in the journals and bulletins of Universities and Academies of Sciences in Central Asia, and two of them were analysed in the last issue of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW.<sup>(1)</sup> Russians have always taken very seriously the presence of foreigners within or near their borders and they are apt to assume that all such persons are spies, and as spies are either actuated by the basest of motives, or are carrying out instructions from superiors whose one object is to enslave, exploit and torture everyone who comes within their reach.

The Russians present the analogous activities of Russian officers in quite a different light. It was perfectly natural that the Russian advance from the steppe into the oasis region of Central Asia should be preceded by a careful reconnaissance of the terrain, the tribal situation and the trade possibilities. Considerable details of such reconnaissances are available from Russian and Soviet sources. Thus recently published geographies of the Turkmen and Uzbek SSR show that nearly all these reconnaissances were carried out by Army officers: Captain Murav'yev in 1821 surveyed the coast near the present Krasnovodsk with a view to "finding a suitable place for the construction of a fort which would be convenient for trade and might serve the Turkmen peoples who were seeking the protection of Russia as a shield against their neighbours"; Colonel Berg's expedition explored the Ustyurt in 1825 and Lieutenant Butakov surveyed the Aral Sea in 1848. All these activities, as well as Russian attempts to establish direct trade relations with Kashmir and the Punjab - states adjacent to but not part of British India - can be seen in retrospect as quite normal on the part of a rapidly expanding nation intent on extending its political and commercial influence in Asia. But Soviet historians find it necessary to describe military reconnaissances as "scientific investigation" and intelligence officers as "explorers".

A careful examination of Soviet writing about British intelligence activities in Central Asia shows that today the Russians are not so much interested in exposing exaggerated British fears of the Russian intention to attack India, as in alleged

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(1) "British Policy in Central Asia in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Mission of Richmond Shakespear" and "Russia's Relations with India".

British plans for the annexation and colonization of an area then under independent rulers and hitherto untouched by imperialist expansion. The fact that in the event the area was colonized not by the British but by the Russians is now attributed to the desire of the population to become incorporated in the Russian Empire. It is curious that Soviet historians should still find it necessary to harp on British designs on Central Asia now that Russian rule has been firmly established there for close on a hundred years, and ten years after the removal of British military and civil power from India, the only area from which Russian supremacy in Central Asia could be challenged. A possible explanation is to be found in the wish - perhaps partly subconscious - to establish some continuity in the history of Russia's relations with Central Asia. This continuity was disrupted for 20 years by Pokrovskiy's historical theory which stigmatized the Tsarist conquest of Central Asia as "an absolute evil", and was only abandoned in 1937. The present tendency of Soviet historiography is to substitute the word "incorporation" for "conquest", and to represent that incorporation as an inevitable part of the civilizing mission which Russians both Tsarist and Soviet believe that they inherited from Byzantium.

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#### The tomb of Hajji Murad

Members of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaydzhan studying historical monuments in the foothills of the Caucasus have found the tomb of Hajji Murad, one of Shamil's closest colleagues. The grave is situated in the Kakhi rayon of Azerbaydzhan, not far from the settlement of Kynchakh. The small grave-stone has an inscription in Arabic: "This is the grave of the deceased leader of the martyred heroes, Hajji Murad the Avar from Khunzakh, the year 1268 Hijri"(1852).  
 VOPROSY ISTORII, 1958, No. 12.

#### Chinese mountaineers in the Pamirs

In August a party of Chinese mountaineers visited the Soviet Pamirs and took part in an ascent of Lenin Peak (7134m.). The ascent was uneventful except for the illness of a Chinese woman mountaineer at a height of 6000m. The party, consisting of 17 Chinese and 21 Soviet, scaled the mountain after an expedition of over 21 days.  
 DRUZHBA, 1958, No. 50.

## THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA

## PAST AND PRESENT DISTRIBUTION

This is the second article in the series of studies on the peoples of Central Asia being undertaken by CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW; the first article, "A Historical Outline", appeared in Vol. VI, No. 4. The reader's attention is drawn to the Appendix at the end of this study which lists articles on related subjects which have previously appeared in the Review.

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The indigenous population of Central Asia belongs to two racial and linguistic groups - Turkic and Iranian. The first embraces the Uzbeks, Kirgiz, Kara-Kalpaks and Turkmens while the Tadjhiks representing the ancient, pre-Turkic population constitute the second. But the linguistic frontiers are not so clear-cut. Not only do they spread into China, Afghanistan and Persia, but within Central Asia itself they overlap in the border areas of the republics. The results of this vary from one region to another; thus in the towns situated between Leninabad and Bukhara both Tadjhik and Uzbek are spoken, while in the Khorezm region where Uzbek, Turkmen and Kara-Kalpak overlap as well as in the lands along the Uzbek-Turkmen frontier, dialects originating from the mixture of languages are spoken.

The peoples' way of life was profoundly affected by the coming of the Russians, but only the Revolution and the changes arising from it have radically checked its natural development. The distinction between the nomadic and settled population, once so obvious, has disappeared which also to some extent applies to the subdivision of the second group into town-dwellers and agricultural people, the latter being due to the modern economic developments which have caused migration to the new industrial centres.

In the late 1920's and early 1930's the Soviet authorities carried out a great campaign against nomadism which as an unstable element eluded close control by the Government. The action resulted in a great loss of human life and in mass destruction of the nomad's cattle, the latter being so grave that in the following decades the economic life of the area could not recover from the blow. It may be surmised that the suppression of nomadism had some influence on



the state of religion, for though on the one hand the hold of Islam on the country has been undermined as a result of the anti-religious policy of the Government, on the other its hold in various districts may have become more marked as compared with its state in the past when its influence on the nomads was very limited.

The changing pattern of life is also responsible for the fact that the confusing word "Sart" has become obsolete. Before the Revolution it was more or less synonymous with "Tadzhik", being used by the Uzbeks to denote the descendants of the settled population whom the ancestors of the Uzbeks had subdued. Indeed, after 1917 such an old distinction between the conquerors and the conquered has little sense, when both are confronted by a more formidable conqueror.

In some respects the Revolution introduced a measure of artificial unity into the life of Central Asia. The old distinction between the agricultural and cattle-breeding areas has become less acute owing to the suppression of nomadism and expansion of agriculture into the formerly waste lands. The territory, before the Revolution constituting the governorates of Turkestan and the Steppe Region, has been split into a number of republics whose pseudo-national character is an attempt to shatter the religious and to a large extent racial and linguistic unity of the area. This has necessitated the introduction of an unequivocal nomenclature making the division even more definite, as can be clearly seen in the case of the Kazakhs who before the Revolution were known as Kirgiz-Kaysaks, Kirgiz-Kazaks, or simply Kirgiz, in order to distinguish them from the Cossack settlers.

During the Soviet regime there has been a considerable exodus of people from the Central Asian republics into neighbouring countries, particularly during the collectivization period of 1928-32. The principal emigration was of Kazakhs into Sinkiang. There is no record of the numbers involved, but a comparison of the 1926 and 1939 Soviet censuses showed a fall of nearly one million in the total number of Kazakhs in the USSR. Migrations of other peoples into Persia and Afghanistan were on a comparatively small scale.

### The Tadzhiks

The Tadzhiks, the oldest of the Central Asian peoples, are descendants of the Soghdians, Khorezmians, Bactrians and the nomad Saki. According to Bartol'd, the word "Tadzhik" is derived from Tay, the name of an Arab tribe. In the tenth century, Tazi, a corruption of Tay, was used locally as a generic term for all Muslims. In the eleventh century the nomad Turkic invaders called the settled population Tadzhik. In the eleventh century the Tadzhiks began to lose their former political predominance in Central Asia which passed to the Turks, though they retained their own culture.

The Tadjiks constitute the majority of the population of Soviet Tadjikistan. The census of 1939 revealed that the republic had a population of 1,485,000, 59.5 per cent of whom were Tadjiks. By April 1956 the total population had risen to 1,800,000. It is convenient to divide the Soviet Tadjiks into two groups: the people of the mountains, and the plain dwellers. The latter live in the lowland areas of the republic and in some parts of Uzbekistan (Fergana, Samarkand, Bukhara) where their total number in 1939 was 317,000, or 5.1 per cent of the population. There are some in Kirgizia, and also in southern Kazakhstan.

The highland Tadjiks are a very distinctive group even though their number is not large - only some tens of thousands according to Tokarev. Until the Revolution their region together with the Gorno-Badakhshan oblast was officially known as Eastern Bukhara and belonged to the khanate of that name. Its population was called by outsiders Galcha, originally Garcha, a name derived from gar a mountain.

The ethnic character of the highland area is far from uniform. On the upper reaches of the Pyandzh dwell isolated groups, the so-called nationalities of the Cis-Pamir region, (pripamirskiye narodnosti), which have not yet been completely assimilated by the highland Tadjiks. Among them by far the largest group are the Shugnani, of whom there were over 21,000 in 1926, at the confluence of the Shakhdara and the Gunt, and the Gunt and the Pyandzh. Though for the purposes of education and literature they use Tadjik, among themselves they speak their own dialects, with the exception of the small group of Tadjik-speaking Goranis. The process of the assimilation of such peoples by the Tadjiks is far more advanced in the regions of Darvaz and Karategin where only faint traces of the old tribal division survive. In the north an interesting group of about 2,500 has preserved its identity; these are the Yagnob in the Yagnob valley, whose language is regarded as the only surviving descendant of that spoken by the ancient Soghdians. Another small nationality of some interest are the Makedoni near the Iskanderkul lake who regard themselves as descendants of the Macedonian invaders. It is, however, interesting to note that the anthropological research of L.V. Oshanin reveals a very large degree of racial uniformity among the various peoples of Tadjikistan, which is especially apparent in its highland area.

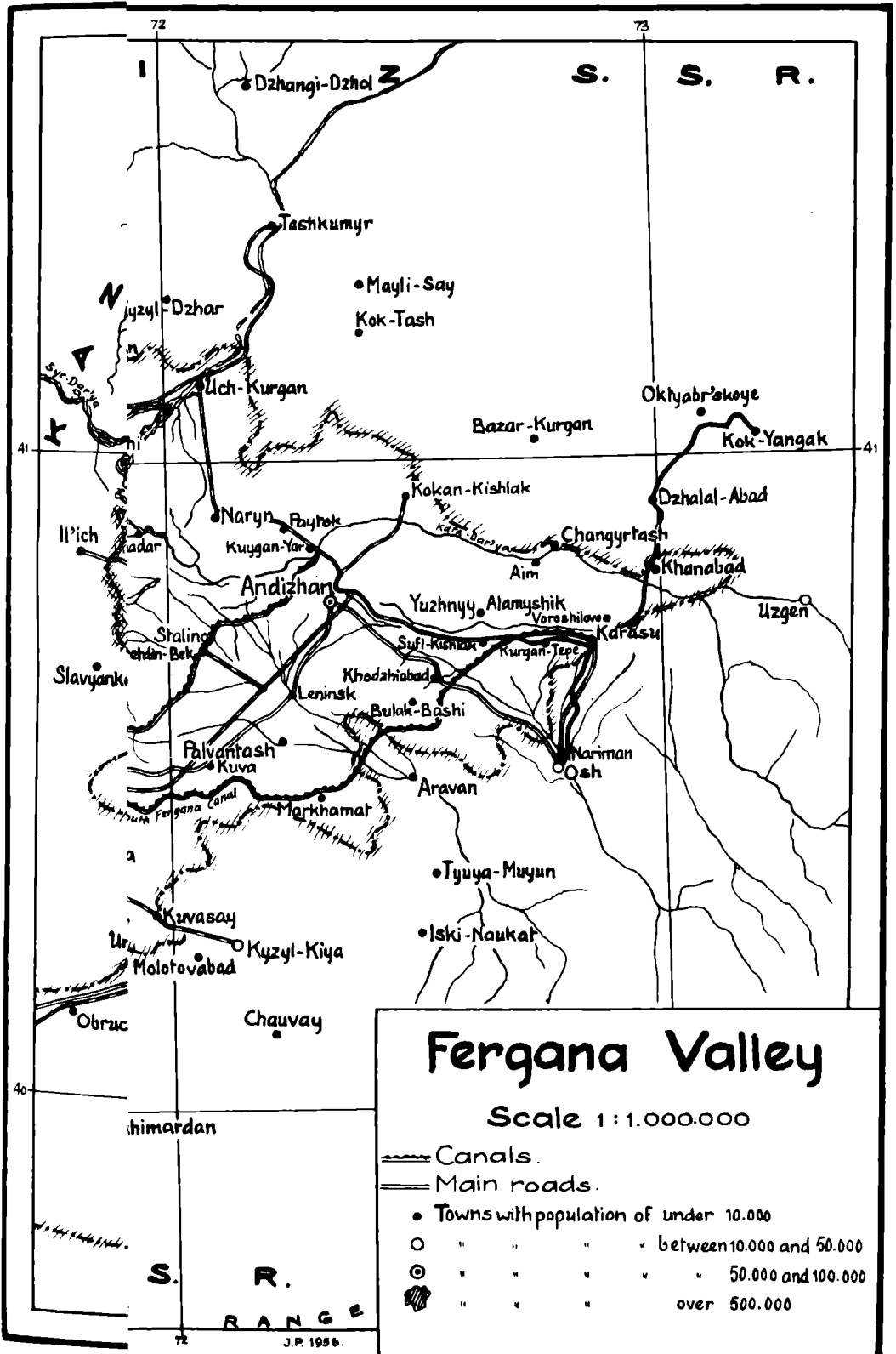
There are more Tadjiks living outside Tadjikistan than within its borders. In Afghanistan they represent descendants of its ancient agricultural people and their number is estimated at 2,100,000. They form compact national groups in the province of Badakhshan, the valley of the Hari Rud and some regions on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush. There are considerable Tadjik elements mixed with other peoples in nearly all parts of Afghanistan, and in Persia between Nishapur and Sabzavar. There are estimated to be some 17,000 Tadjiks in Sinkiang.

## The Uzbeks

The word "Uzbek" first appeared in history as a personal name borne by Uzbek (1312-40), one of the khans of the Golden Horde, who promoted the spread of Islam so that subsequently Muslim members of the Horde became known as Uzbeks. After its break-up the Uzbeks emerged under Kan Abulkhair (d.1468) as a tribal federation in what is now known as western Kazakhstan. They first came into prominence at the turn of the fifteenth century when under the leadership of Shaybani they conquered the agricultural areas of Central Asia. The short period of the national greatness of the Uzbeks soon ended owing to Persian pressure on their lands and separatist tendencies of their minor rulers. Though they constituted a very large proportion of the population in the Khanates of Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand, they did not achieve even nominal national unity until in 1924 the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic was created. In this connection it is interesting to note that Turkestan (Yasy), a holy city of the Uzbeks containing the tomb of Ahmed Yassavi, a twelfth century Sufi poet and prophet, is now included in Kazakhstan.

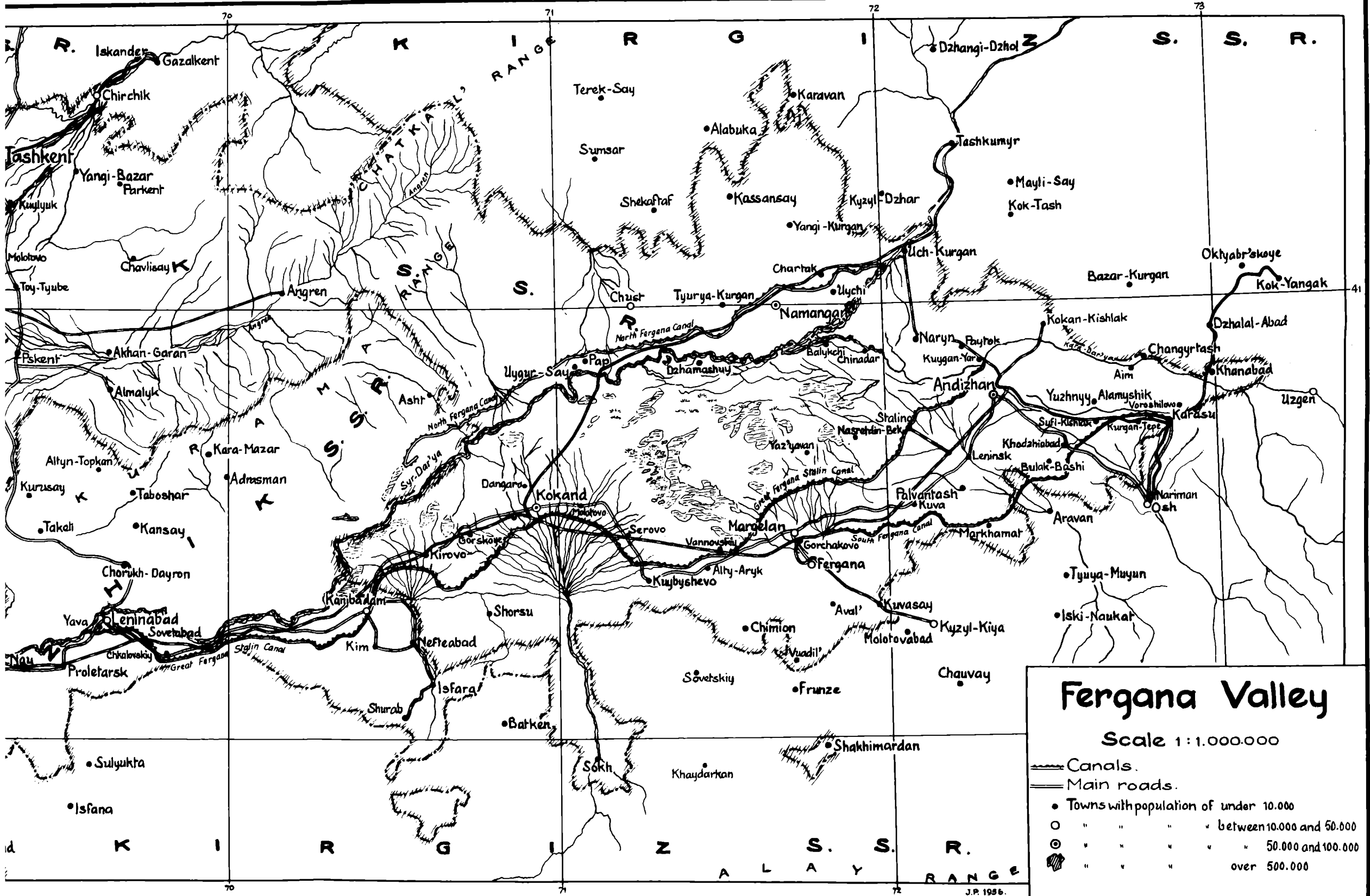
In 1939 the population of Uzbekistan amounted to 6,282,000 of whom 4,845,100 were Uzbeks; by April 1956 the total population had risen to 7,300,000. Within Uzbekistan the Uzbeks live in several large groups: the Uzbeks of Khiva on the lower Amu-Dar'ya, on the lower and middle Zeravshan, on the Kashka-Dar'ya, and the Uzbeks of Fergana on the upper Syr-Dar'ya. Outside Uzbekistan they are found in the other Central Asian republics: in Tadzhikistan they constitute 23.8 per cent of the population and they are most numerous around Leninabad, Stalinabad and Kulyab; in Turkmenistan they form 8.5 per cent of the population, and are found mainly in the Chardzhou and Tashauz oblasts; in Kirgizia they live in the Osh and Dzhahalal-Abad oblasts, and in Kazakhstan in the South-Kazakhstan oblast.

Some traces of the old tribal particularism of the Uzbeks have survived into the modern period. In the middle of the nineteenth century they were still conscious of their old division into ninety-seven tribes. Among those, apart from the purely Uzbek ones, were Turkic tribes of pre-Uzbek origin (the Kangly, Karluk, Uygur) and some even of pre-Mongol origin (Dzhelair, Nayman, Kytay, Tatar, Mogol, Barlas, Chagatay, Merkit and others). The process of the consolidation of the Uzbeks into a single people is still going on. In the Fergana valley there survive some distinct Turkic groups, the Kipchak and Tyurk, which are still aware of their distinct origin and preserve their own way of life with its emphasis on nomadism. The Kurama on the banks of the Angren, south of Tashkent, are an intermediate group between the Kazakhs and the Uzbeks. The Uzbeks of northern Khorezm call themselves Mangyts, Kungrats, Kipchaks, and some Uzbek groups in southern Tadzhikistan have preserved their tribal names: Tyurk, Karluk, Barlas, Lokay and others. Beside the tribal names, before the Revolution other names were currently derived from the places of settlement of the population; thus various groups styled themselves "men of Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent" etc.



Specialy drawn for the Central Asian Research Centre. - 1956. - J.P.





## Fergana Valley

Scale 1:1,000,000

- Canals.
- Main roads.
- Towns with population of under 10,000
- " " " " between 10,000 and 50,000
- " " " " 50,000 and 100,000
- " " " " over 500,000



The term "Uzbek" originally denoted the politically predominant group in the three Central Asian khanates, but as the process of amalgamation of the conquerors and the conquered advanced, the distinction became increasingly vague and other terms were invented to denote various groups of the population; among those the largest group were the Sarts, mentioned above.

Outside the borders of the Soviet Union there are about one million Uzbeks in Afghanistan; the great majority are settled to the south of the Turkmens in Afghan Turkestan. There are about 8,000 in Sinkiang.(1)

### The Turkmens

The problem of the origin of the word "Turkmen" has not as yet been finally solved, for though the meaning of its first part is obvious, the second is still disputable. The most acceptable explanation seems to be that it is derived from the Persian turk-manend "similar to a Turk".

The Turkmens associate their origin with a legendary tribal chief Oguz-khan. The Oguz people appear in historical sources of the eighth century as a powerful tribal federation on the lower Syr-Dar'ya. At the end of the tenth century they began to migrate southwards and establish themselves on the Zeravshan, and there those of them who submitted to the influence of the culture of the settled population and accepted Islam came to be known as Turkmens. But it is erroneous to regard them as descendants of Turkic-speaking nomads from the north and north-east. Their language, belonging to the south-western branch of Turkic languages, relates them to the Osmanli Turks and the Azerbaydzhanis. Anthropologically the long-headed Turkmens are also distinct among the Central Asian peoples and related to the ancient Trans-Caspian steppe race. The above evidence suggests a mixed origin.

In 1939 the population of Turkmenistan was 1,254,000, but at the same time the total number of Turkmens in the Soviet Union was 812,000. By April 1956 the population of the republic had risen to 1,400,000, the Turkmens constituting 59.2 per cent of the total. An unspecified number of them are found in Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kazakhstan, Karakalpakia and the northern Caucasus.

Old tribal divisions still survive in Turkmenistan. The largest tribe is the Tekkeh in the south-west, where they are concentrated mainly in the oblasts of Mary and Ashkhabad; there is a small number also in Persia and Afghanistan. Their neighbours are the Saryk and Salop in the Mary oasis. The Ersari live on the left bank of the middle Amu-Dar'ya, the Yamuts (Iomudy) on the eastern and western borders of the Kara-Kum desert, and parts of the oasis of Khiva are occupied by the Chaudor and Goklan. The Turkmens outside the borders of the Soviet Union have nearly everywhere preserved their tribal division.



They are scattered over a large area between north-western Afghanistan and the western border of the Syrian desert. Their number in Afghanistan is estimated at 380,000 and they occupy the northern part of Afghan Turkestan. The 200,000 Persian Turkmens are mainly concentrated in the regions adjoining the country's northern border. In Turkey there are 70,000 of them, but they have been largely assimilated; in Irak their number is 80,000 and in Syria 30,000.

### The Kirgiz

The meaning of the word Kirgiz (or Kyrgyz) is obscure though the Kirgiz themselves derive it from kyrk-kyz meaning "forty girls", this being a reminiscence of the legendary number of maid-servants of a khan's daughter. The Kirgiz are of a mixed origin; they are descended from the tribes and peoples which originally lived in the Tyan'-Shan' as well as from the tribes which in the distant past colonized the lands at the sources of the Yenisey and were known as the Kirgiz. Among the peoples of Central Asia they are distinguished by their anthropological type as they display most clearly the racial characteristics of the Mongols.

In 1939 the number of Kirgiz in the Soviet Union was 884,000. At the same time the total population of Kirgizia amounted to 1,459,000, the Kirgiz constituting 51.7 per cent; by April, 1956 the population of the republic had risen to 1,900,000. In Uzbekistan there are 89,000 Kirgiz, mainly in the Namangan, Andizhan and Fergana oblasts; in Tadzhikistan they are found in the western Pamirs, and some live in Kazakhstan. They have preserved their tribal division; they are divided into two so-called "wings", the On (right) and the Sol (left); each is further divided and subdivided, but the mutual relationship of these divisions is not clear. This system was already in existence in the lifetime of Genghiz Khan and in the Mongol period it was extended to other peoples, but in Central Asia it is limited to the Kirgiz.

Outside the Soviet Union 15,000 Kirgiz live in Afghanistan, about 75,000 in Sinkiang, some in northern Pakistan (2) and isolated groups in Mongolia (3).

### The Kazakhs

The derivation of the word "Kazakh" is not clear. Though the Kazakhs believe that it is derived from kas-ak, "a white goose", this explanation is unacceptable to scholars. "Kazakh" is common to the Turkic languages where it denotes free men of the steppes, invaders.

The Kazakhs first entered history in 1456 when two sons of Khan Barak, Girey and Dzhani-bek, broke away from their suzerain, Uzbek Khan Abulhair, and departed with their people to the west. After Abulhair's death a further group of his subjects joined them and by the end of the fifteenth

century the Kazakh federation in the steppes of eastern Kazakhstan possessed considerable political power. At some indefinite time it fell into three hordes (zhuz): the Greater, Middle and Lesser, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century from among the last emerged the Interior Horde. Some traces of this division still survive. The Kazakhs were the first people of that part of Asia to become dependent on Russia; in 1723 the invading Kalmyks defeated the Greater Horde and threatened the others, which caused the Lesser and Middle Hordes to seek Russian protection, but the Greater Horde did not recognize Russian suzerainty until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Traces of the tribes which originally formed the Kazakh people still survive in the names of "generations" and "clans". Their names and the historical traditions connected with them prove that the Kazakhs were descended from Turkic and Mongol ethnic groups. The older, Turkic, element represents descendants of the Turkic tribes which originally inhabited the steppe lands round the Aral Sea: the Mongol admixture was added by their amalgamation with some Mongol tribes which penetrated into that area in the period of Genghiz Khan. Thus the process of the formation of the Kazakh people took place before the fifteenth century when they first emerged as a distinct national group.

In 1939 there were 3,100,000 Kazakhs in the Soviet Union; at that time Kazakhstan had a total population of 6,146,000, the Kazakhs and Russians together constituting 80 per cent. By April 1956 the population increased to 8,500,000; the proportion of Kazakhs to other national groups is unknown. In 1939 the number of Kazakhs in Uzbekistan was 305,000; figures for the other Central Asian republics are not given. They also live in western Siberia and on the upper and middle Volga. Outside the Soviet Union there are about 350,000 in Sinkiang (4) and some in Mongolia.

### The Kara-Kalpaks

Though the word Kara-Kalpak means "a black cap", the origin of the Kara-Kalpaks is somewhat obscure. It is believed that they are descended from the Turkic tribes which in the tenth and eleventh centuries were collectively known as the Pechenegs. It should, however, be borne in mind that the Pechenegs were ethnically an extremely complex group.

The Kara-Kalpaks are first mentioned in historical sources in the sixteenth century; at that time they occupied lands on the lower reaches of the Syr-Dar'ya and were known as the "lower" Kara-Kalpaks to distinguish them from the "upper" Kara-Kalpaks who in the seventeenth century lived on the middle reaches of that river. In the eighteenth century the Kazakh pressure made the "upper" Kara-Kalpaks move to the lands on the Zeravshan and to Fergana, and the "lower" to the delta of the Amu-Dar'ya. The history of the Kara-Kalpaks is closely connected

with that of the Kazakhs and Uzbeks, and their tribal organization is very similar to that of those two peoples.

In 1939 there were 185,800 Kara-Kalpaks in the Soviet Union. Outside Kara-Kalpakia there are some in the Fergana, Bukhara and Khorezm oblasts of Uzbekistan, and there are small groups in Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. About 2,000 live in Afghanistan.

### Notes

- (1) 13,600 according to G.P. Serdyuchenko (SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE, 4/57, pp.117-24). The figures given by the GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA are in some cases considerably lower than those provided by him. (See CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp.78-79).
- (2) GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, 2nd edn., Vol. 21, 1935, p.102.
- (3) Further information on the origin of the Kirgiz is given by G.F.Debec in his article "Nekotoryye problemy proiskhozhdeniya Kirgizov v svete rabot Kirgizskoy arkheologo-etnograficheskoy ekspeditsii" in KRATKIYE SOOBSHCHENIYA INSTITUTA ETNOGRAFIY, Vol. 26, 1957. The article contains a detailed map showing the distribution of Kirgiz tribes in Kirgizia.
- (4) 509,000 according to Serdyuchenko.

### Sources

1. The figures in this article are taken from the following works:
  - NARODNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO SSSR, Moscow, 1956.
  - GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, 2nd edition.
  - Article "Etnicheskiy sostav stran Peredney Azii", S.I.Bruk, SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1955, No. 2.
2. Information on the Central Asian peoples has been derived mainly from:
  - ETNOGRAFIYA NARODOV SSSR, S.A.Tokarev, Moscow, 1958.
  - GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, 2nd edition.

## APPENDIX

The following articles on various aspects of the peoples of Central Asia have previously appeared in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW:

- The Turkic Peoples of the USSR, Vol. I, No.1.
  - The Turkmen Population of the Khorezm Oasis, Vol. II, No.2.
  - The Population of Central Asia, Vol. III, No.2.
  - Origins of the Kirgiz People, Vol. IV, No.1.
  - The Social Structure and Customs of the Kazakhs, Vol. V, No.1.
  - The Population of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Vol. V, No.2.
  - Russia and the Kazakhs in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Vol. V, No.4.
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#### Rudaki celebrations

The 1100th anniversary of the birth of Rudaki was celebrated in Tadzhikistan on 15th October. Delegates who had been attending the conference of African and Asian writers in Tashkent, including those from India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, China, Korea, Vietnam, Turkey, Iraq and the United Arab Republic, were present.

In the wide coverage given to the event in the press Rudaki was described as the founder of Tadzhik and Persian literature and a spiritual forerunner of the Revolution in that, according to the Tadzhik Chairman of the Council of Ministers, N. Dodkhudoyev, "the poet's dreams became possible only in our era, after the victory of Great October".

KT. 15th, 16th, 17th October 1958

TRENDS IN EDUCATION  
IN CENTRAL ASIA

Introduction - Middle schools - Teacher training - Progress in vocational education - Post-school vocational training.

Previous articles in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW (1) have dealt with primary, secondary and higher education, as well as earlier attempts at vocational training, mainly on a republican basis in Central Asia. Recent developments, however, show that a new system of education is developing with far more emphasis on practical training, and the following article is an attempt to show the present trends in Central Asia as a whole. The phrase attestat zrelosti (lit. certificate of maturity) has been translated throughout as "matriculation", as the nearest English equivalent to the original. The translation of the word politekhvizatsia has presented considerable difficulty. Where it refers to the transformation of the educational system from the academic to the technical or practical, the use of the word "polytechnization" has been unavoidable; where it refers to the actual technical or practical training of students, the word "vocational" education, or training, has been used.

. . . .

### Introduction

A series of modifications introduced into the curriculum of the Central Asian schools in the course of the last few years becomes more comprehensible in the light of Khrushchev's plan expounded in September 1958 for the reform of the Soviet educational system. This seems to bring to a logical conclusion the present period of transition with its basis towards a "school closely linked with life". Though it may be too early to forecast how exactly this new development will affect education in Central Asia, it is obvious that long before his speech outlining the scheme, ground was being prepared there for its realization. The theoretical basis of these developments appears to be derived from Lenin's statement that "no school or university education has any value if one cannot apply one's knowledge in practice".

The XIXth and XXth Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1952 and 1956 respectively, are the principal landmarks in the evolution of vocational education. The purpose of vocational education is alleged to be to give young people a really universal education, the present system having hitherto been too academic and remote from the realities of everyday life. In fact, it may reasonably be presumed that the growing

emphasis on vocational training will ultimately defeat its declared purpose and, by lowering the standard of general education, it will in the long run convert the middle school into another establishment for training skilled workers for industry and agriculture.

### Middle schools

"Polytechnization" has affected the whole educational system above the kindergarten stage, but its main theatre is the middle or full-secondary school. So far as its history in Central Asia can be reconstructed from the Central Asian press, it began as a clamour for "drawing the school closer to life" by supplementing theory with practice. Consequently, the great importance of visual aids and experimental science was constantly emphasized. In order to familiarize the pupils with the practical applications of science, the schools began to organize excursions to kolkhozes and various industrial establishments and to devote much attention to workshop training. Gradually the "link between school and life" (svyaz' shkoly s zhiznyu) assumed a more definite character summarized by the phrase "link with productive work" (svyaz' s proizvodstvom).

The lack of equipment and accommodation from which the schools acutely suffered in the early years of polytechnization was the chief obstacle to expansion; for example, SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA of 26.3.55. reports that in 1954 the schools of the republic received some two million rubles to develop their facilities for vocational training, but in spite of that 120 out of the 252 full-secondary schools of the republic still had no physics laboratories, 218 had no chemistry laboratories and 203 lacked biology laboratories, while only 46 out of the 803 seven-year schools had physics and only 30 chemistry laboratories. PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 12.2.57. complains that the Uzbek Ministry of Education did not provide schools with funds necessary for the expansion of their workshops. The Central Asian press frequently refers to the shortage of properly equipped workshops in the schools, but the situation seems somewhat better where school experimental gardens are concerned. These conditions are improving, e.g. PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 26.7.58. reports that while in the 1956-57 school year the schools of the Andizhan oblast had 180 workshops and 94 greenhouses, by July 1958 the figures were 250 and 143 respectively.

An important part in the expansion of school workshops is played by factories and kolkhozes, which give their superfluous tools and machinery to local schools. Apart from workshops, vocational training is promoted by educational films, by meetings between pupils and leading workers and specialists, and by the pupils' technical study groups or "circles". The purpose of the last is to enable their members to master the agricultural, industrial and technical skills of their choice. Moreover, the importance of the ideological side of vocational education must not be overlooked. According to PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 8.4.58., after the XXth Party Congress the local branches of the Party and komsomol began to devote more attention to the ideological and political enlightenment of their members, particularly

with regard to the correct understanding of their duties towards the state, for it was found that the level of political instruction at numerous schools and VUZ (higher educational establishments) was extremely disappointing. To remedy this, more emphasis is to be laid on the great mission of the Soviet school - inspiring its pupils with love of work - particularly physical work according to TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 19.6.58.

### Teacher training

The technical trend in full-secondary school education necessitates far-reaching changes in the training of teachers; they must be qualified not only to conduct practical work in the laboratory, but also to act as demonstrators in the workshop. The shortage of suitable teachers, obviously even more acute in the early years of polytechnization than now, occasionally made local education authorities seek solutions which TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 15.12.56. condemned as bureaucratic: the authorities of the Kazandzhik rayon induced a teacher of language and literature to teach engineering at two full-secondary schools, while a history master was directed to supervise the pupils' practical work in cattle-breeding. A more orthodox way for the school is to obtain the help of local factories, transport firms, kolkhozes etc., collectively described as "organizations patronizing the schools". These enterprises not only provide their schools with machinery, but their specialists give practical instruction in the school workshops and gardens. This method is not altogether satisfactory for the success of these specialists as instructors is hindered by their ignorance of teaching method. These, however, are but half-measures and steps for assuring adequate training of teachers are being taken: according to PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 11.2.58., in the course of 1957 the Teachers Training College in Bukhara much improved the vocational training of students in the physico-mathematics and natural science faculties; the former faculty began to give its students opportunities for obtaining practical experience in industrial, and the latter in agricultural methods. But a serious drawback to the more efficient training of teachers is the shortage of textbooks in Uzbek on various branches of vocational education, especially engineering and vehicle maintenance.

### Progress in vocational education

The chief object of vocational education at present is to enable pupils leaving school to "find their place in life" by giving them a definite skill in some branch of industry or agriculture. TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 9.8.58. describes the measures which the schools take to this end. Pupils in the fifth to seventh forms (ages 12-14) receive practical training in the school workshops and gardens, and those in the eighth to tenth forms (ages 15-17) study the "principles of production" either at school workshops or at local factories, kolkhozes and other establishments. The senior pupils obtain professional qualifications in metalwork, electrical engineering, lorry and tractor driving, cotton growing and in a variety of other skills, and on leaving school they often start work at the establishment where they have

received this early training. For example, PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 11.1.58. writes that following from the cooperation between the kolkhoz Namuna and the Karl Marx Middle School in the Termez rayon, more than 70 per cent of the pupils leaving the school find employment at the kolkhoz; the additional gain which the Namuna kolkhoz derives from this cooperation is the help offered by the pupils during the busy seasons of the agricultural year. So far as the school is concerned, a further advantage of such a "link with productive work" is claimed to be an improvement in its internal discipline, for the pupils trained in this manner develop a sense of responsibility and become more serious in their attitude to life and work. How far in fact the above programme is successful, i.e. whether all pupils are skilled workers when they leave school, is impossible to ascertain from the material available; but numerous complaints in the press about the low standard of vocational training at various schools suggest that only the more efficient among them can carry out the scheme.

Various shortcomings in the present state of vocational training make the education authorities of the republics seek more efficient methods to assure its success. The year 1958 is apparently a period of experiment which has produced several schemes. One is for the study of "the principles of production" by senior pupils mentioned above, and another is to increase the number of hours allotted to workshop training. In Turkmenistan these schemes have been introduced into 18 schools in the 1957-58 school year. In 1958-59 this plan is to be extended to a number of other schools. (TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 7.1.58.).

Another plan is described by TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 9.8.58. A considerable shortcoming of the present vocational programme is said to be the overworking of pupils, which affects their health and does not allow them to take an active part in the life of the community. To remedy this, it is proposed to follow the example of the RSFSR by introducing into a number of Turkmen schools eleven-year education at the beginning of the current school year. The main idea of this scheme is to devote one half of the school year to academic study, and the other to work in industry or agriculture in order to enable pupils to master some practical skill.

KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA of 26.8.58. gives an account of yet another plan, the leading idea of which is to combine the middle school with productive work. It recommends that middle school education should consist of two stages; the first, covering nine years, is called basic schooling (*osnovnaya shkola*) and is devoted mainly to a general education emphasizing the study of the native, Russian and foreign languages, as well as the history and geography of Tadzhikistan. The tenth to twelfth classes form the second stage in which practical training is to play the main part, though academic subjects will continue to be studied. But pupils are to be trained to become skilled workers according to the locality of their school - in country districts they will learn an agricultural skill and in town an industrial skill. Together with the



certificate of matriculation (attestat zrelosti) they will receive a certificate confirming their practical training. They will then do one year's work in a job suited to their qualifications. After this they may go to VUZ where admission will be largely determined by the references supplied by the candidate's place of work.

### Post-school vocational training

TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 15.6.58. warmly praises a group of tenth form pupils who at the May Day parade in Ashkhabad carried a banner inscribed "After matriculation - to work!" This much-popularized slogan is symptomatic of the new educational policy, whose object is to increase, according to the directives issued by the XXth Party Congress, the number of specialists required for the expansion of the national economy. The laudability of such a step is deeply impressed on the pupils' mind by the "link between school and productive work", and this drive very often produces the desired results. Two of the many cases praised by the press are a good illustration. KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA of 25.5.58. says that in 1957, 50 out of 104 school-leavers in the Sary-Su rayon started work. Ashkhabad seems to be a place where schools fulfil their ideological mission particularly well: according to TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 19.5.58. and 18.7.58., half of the graduates of schools Nos. 15 and 25 decided to start work, which, together with those from other schools of the city, gave a total figure of more than 300. Also it was estimated that in the same summer some 9,000 pupils would receive certificates of matriculation in the schools of Turkmenistan; and it was planned to send 4,332 of them directly to work with the object of training them to become skilled workers.

This state of perfection, however, is not universal. "Old traditions", that from middle school, pupils should go to VUZ or at least to a tekhnikum still persist and some of the culprits are the parents, such as those denounced in KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA of 12.6.58. When those pupils of the tenth form of school No. 2 in the Shakhrinay rayon who were members of the komsomol decided to go to work, many of their parents disapproved. Schools are largely to blame for the fact that their pupils entertain no love of manual labour - in the above rayon nearly 200 students matriculated in the summer of 1958, but only 16-18 were willing to start work. The same paper of 25.5.58. adds: "Why should such sins be passed over in silence?" - There still exist young men and women who do not wish to accept their share in productive work and despise physical labour."

The exemplary school-leaver not only enthusiastically goes to work, but at the same time studies by taking a correspondence course or going to evening classes, if they are to be found where he lives. In this manner he may study any subject he wants, and even obtain a university degree. Such studies are much commended for it is claimed that they give the people concerned practical experience, teach them to overcome difficulties and to see clearly their particular vocation. The above method of further education

is not to be confused with the schools for young industrial and agricultural workers whose purpose is to give middle school education to those who did not complete it at school.

Such "working youth" may study for advanced professional examinations, preferably in order to become specialists in the branch of industry or agriculture in which they are engaged. But they may also become teachers, librarians and graduate specialists. Correspondence courses are provided by *tekhnikums* and *VUZ*, and their popularity is proved by the fact that in 1956 the Turkmen State University had over 17,000 correspondence students, many of them recruited from among late school-leavers. (*TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA*, 26.12.56.) In addition numerous Ashkhabad workers attend its evening classes. *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* of 1.7.58. states that more than 26,000 people take correspondence courses in Uzbekistan, but it is not said how many of them are school-leavers. In 1956, according to *KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA* of 10.5.56., there were 650 correspondence students of the Tadjik State University. More recent figures are not provided by the available material. The demand for further education for workers varies from place to place. As a rule, where the management of the agricultural or industrial establishment is not interested in promoting the educational ambitions of its employees, very few study and the attendance of those who go to evening classes is poor. Also the attitude of the local Party and *komsomol* authorities plays an important part in popularizing further education among the workers.

The new educational policy affects secondary-vocational and higher education in more than one way. The changes in the training of teachers, and the stress laid on giving students practical experience in a branch of industry or agriculture corresponding to their studies have been mentioned above, but one of the practical applications of the slogan "After matriculation - to work!" deserves some scrutiny. This is the question of the production stage (*proizvodstvennyy stazh*), or experience in productive work, as a qualification for admission to *VUZ*; it is not clear whether this rule applies so strictly to *tekhnikums*. The word *stazh*, so far as can be ascertained, came into use in this context in 1957 to denote a period of work, or stint, of at least two years' duration. Central Asian *VUZ* follow the directions issued by the Ministry of Higher Education of the Soviet Union which give preference for admission to those candidates who have done the *stazh* and made satisfactory progress as workers; for admission purposes they are in the same category as men demobilized from the army and the navy, and ex-combatants of the Second World War. Before the introduction of the *stazh* candidates who had matriculated with a gold or silver medal (*otlichniki*) were normally admitted without the entrance examination; now they must take it in the usual manner while their former privileged position has been occupied by those who have completed the *stazh*. A good example is the procedure followed by the M.I. Kalinin Turkmen Agricultural Institute which reserves 80 per cent of all places for the

group exempted from the entrance examinations while the rest goes to those who pass the examination, otlichniki included. But the practical interpretation of the stazh as a qualification for admission varies from one VUZ to another, e.g. the Stalinabad State Medical Institute requires all candidates to take the entrance examination and among those who have passed, priority is given to members of the privileged group, including those who have done their stazh. Thus, though the stazh is not indispensable to admission, to secure a place without it is obviously extremely difficult. This makes the more enterprising characters search for other means which are denounced in SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA of 8.6.58. In 1957 a student wished to study at the Kirgiz State University, and procured a document testifying to the completion of her stazh, which in fact she had never done. When the truth was discovered, the rector of the university submitted the case to the public prosecutor. Similarly, another enterprising student, whose matriculation certificate stated clearly that he had finished school in 1957 so that there had been no time for the two years' stazh, changed the date to 1955 and was admitted to the faculty of biology. But the truth soon leaked out, and he had to leave the university in a hurry.

The advantages of the stazh as a qualification for admission to higher educational establishments are alleged to be that it makes the candidates serious minded and more experienced, and gives them a clear idea of what they want to study and why. This explanation, as well as the growth of vocational education in Central Asian schools, clearly shows that during the last few years the way has been prepared for more far-reaching reforms in the spirit of those lately proposed by Khrushchev.

### Notes

- (1) See "Education in Kirgizia", Vol. I, No. 2, pp.37-40; "Primary and Secondary Education" (Kazakhstan), Vol. II, No. 2, pp.184-90; "Higher Education in Uzbekistan", Vol. III, No. 1, pp.68-75; "Technical Education in Kirgizia", Vol. IV, No. 1, pp.55-59; "Technical Education in Central Asia", Vol. IV, No. 4, pp.354-61; "The Teaching of Russian in Central Asian Schools", Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 37-41.

### Sources

Central Asian Press.

## L I F E   O N   T H E   K A Z A K H   S T E P P E

The following article is a slightly shortened version of a story entitled "Woodland in the Steppe of Kazakhstan" by Viktor Panov, which appeared in NOVYY MIR (1958, No. 9). The Editors of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW consider that this story gives a good picture of an isolated region of Kazakhstan of which little is known today; for this reason only slight abridgments have been made in translation. It is of interest that although the story deals entirely with rural Kazakhstan, all the characters, with the exception of an old man and woman on the road and the gate-keeper in the forest, are Russians.

. . . .

I. Getting a Lift.

I went out of the town early in the morning, spread my waterproof on the grass, and began to wait for a car going my way.

Soon three jolly girls with red bundles came along; and then we were joined by an old Kazakh woman in a white kerchief which covered her shoulders, with gaily-coloured trousers stuck into the narrow tops of her yellow boots; a grey-haired Kazakh appeared with a big staff, in his long garment; and after him there arrived a young Russian in a tractor-driver's overall. We all gazed in silence at the road.

The man in overalls was the first of us to get away; he threw his body over the side of a motor-car like an acrobat. The girls with bundles jumped like goats on to the next lorry while it was still moving and at once began to sing topical songs (chastushki). The Kazakh woman let about a dozen cars pass and then suddenly honoured one with her attention. With the nimbleness of a young matron she clambered up on to a mountain of basins, troughs and children's baths which filled the body of the vehicle, and was carried off into the boundless blue. I was left with the Kazakh with the staff. We panted, screwing up our eyes from the burning sunlight, and discussed the inconveniences of travel on the steppe roads; but soon the old man also got a lift. All alone, lying on my waterproof, baked by the rays of the sun, I did not even notice that I had dozed off...

"Citizen, where are you for? Hi, citizen!"

When he heard my plans the driver opened the door of his cab in silence. At last I had found a companion who was driving towards the strip of woodland that stands between the basins of the Ob' and the Irtysh, among the steppes of South Siberia and Kazakhstan. His name was Poplavsky and he looked about thirty.

"This isn't the first time you've been along this road?" I asked him.

"The thousand and first."

From the main road from Pavlodar to Semipalatinsk we turned on to a narrow road, with a hard surface, which might have been ironed out across the steppe, and gradually we drew away from the expanse of meadow-land watered by the Irtysh, the dark-green strips of poplar merging with the brushwood, the bright patches of the lakes.

I scrutinized the grasses: a preponderance of perennials, feather-grass in abundance, tufts of unfading rone, milfoil with its tiny curls, bean trefoil and, most important of all, wormwood of every kind: low and tall, scented and unscented, on the fallow, on the virgin soil, among the maize, a blue ribbon stretched by the roadside.

We drove for a long time through the sameness of the steppe. Here we had a glimpse of a plough, left out since the spring at the edge of some black ploughland; there we saw a shepherd (chaban) in his malakhay, his big fur hat with ear-flaps, and with him a flock of sheep and their guardian dogs.

A small settlement came into sight. There were no people in the short, broad street. On the flat roofs of the huts, built of layers of dung and saman, bearded goats were standing and walking about, like dignified old men. A good many houses were roofed with slate or corrugated iron - something new on the steppe. And quite unexpectedly we caught sight of a capacious store-house, put together from angular slabs of raw stone.

"For wheat," Poplavsky nodded at the store-house. "There are - not hundreds: thousands of them now - stores. One summer there was a harvest of a thousand million puds(1). They'll get the same this year too. One doesn't starve."

Along the street of this farmstead we went more slowly, in order not to run over chickens, or collide head-on with a brindled bullock. Outside the farmstead, in disorderly dumps, were tractors, seed-drills, stacking-machines, threshing-machines, cultivators.

"Here there are more machines than people," Vasily answered my perplexed gaze. "Millions of motors."

Another fifty kilometers over the steppe, and before us were the typical farm-buildings of a new sovkhos.

"This yielded three million puds of wheat to the state in four years", said my driver.

I had a good look at the farm-buildings: three million puds of wheat -- that's no fleabite! The settlement was clearly not of the village type: the houses had three, four, and eight apartments. There was a big shop, an office, a dining-hall; but there were no outbuildings to be seen, although these are extremely necessary to a villager for his cows, pigs and fowls.

"Where do they keep their own stock?"

"They haven't any. They haven't even planted a single tree under the windows of the houses, as if they don't intend to live here at all. They harvest the wheat, and that's that!"

Millions, milliards, of puds of wheat: that is the measure of the success of Kazakhstan, and the conquerors of the virgin soil will hardly leave this place. I spoke of this to Poplavsky: the young man agreed:

"Many will stay, of course, where there are such riches."

It was now past noon, but the heat of the day had not yet diminished. The wind was gradually rising. Smoke-coloured whorls of earth were racing over the glittering road, like foxes' brushes; tinkling rivulets rose, of sand and small pebbles, and poured across the ploughland, not checked by the plantains, not slackened by the wormwood. As if they were crazily drunk, the globular clumps of glasswort floundered frantically about, the infallible prophets of a storm on the steppe, or appeared in the road and jumped and skipped about it.

A pillar of earth was rising and growing wider above the ploughland, such as are to be seen on films after the explosion of a shell; but those pillars spout up into the air and quickly disappear, leaving craters behind, while this tossed-up fountain of earth not only did not melt away, but grew more and more powerful, and travelled menacingly over the countryside, savagely tearing up and hurling aloft clumps of glasswort, wormwood and goosefoot. We stopped in order to let one whirlwind pass us, but another blast caught us at once. At three paces nothing was visible; fragments of stems were spinning frenziedly in the light of our headlamps, sand and pebbles were beating upon the cab, and we were being sprinkled with fine, gritty dust, which got down inside our collars although the doors of the cab were tightly shut.

The lorry was standing still. Covering our heads with our water-proofs and screwing up our eyes, we sat in the cab and listened to the howl and whistle of the wind and to the pebbles hitting the lorry.

Poplavsky spread a piece of sacking over us which, held up by our heads, was a reliable protection against the prickly, red-hot sand. We could not see each other: we could see nothing, but we did not stop talking.

"This year we had rain, and got a crop, but last summer there were three sand-storms like this. In the first one I was halted for two hours out of doors, the second caught me in the garage. I heard from our manager: three sand-storms -- three hundred thousand hectares of sown land buried in our oblast. Of course that's not such a disaster if there are three million hectares sown in the oblast: ten per cent, like, covered up by the wind. Cut down the wood, and the chips must fly."

"Ten per cent: that's enough, surely." I was still afraid to open my eyes.

Poplavsky grumbled:

"Anywhere beyond the Urals they wouldn't believe it -- in summer time the wind'll cause drifts deep enough to bury a lorry. Leave anywhere unploughed, and the wind blows the sandy soil up into the sky - the sand sticks to the sun." Vasily took the sacking from his head.

"A drought-bringer."

"Not a drought-bringer: a sand-bringer."

It was a sunny day but we drove slowly with our lights switched on, in order not to miss our way.

To our right was the grey countryside, looking as though a soldier's great coat had been spread over it; to our left black furrows lay across the sown land, like mourning-bands. The slim spikes of the wheat were smothered up to the tops in sand; sand was heaped over the maize, too: even the field brome, which stands up to wind and drought, looked grey.

"Measures ought to be taken", Poplavsky announced grimly. "Timothy-grass, quitch and bent. There ought to be green strips between the ploughlands: they'd hold back the sand. A wise man opened up the solid virgin soil, but a fool lifted the sand, too, with his plough. Go on go on, just so that there are more hectares to reckon for the report and for the payment of the tractor-men."

On the horizon a blue mist of woodland came into sight. Poplavsky turned his head towards it, the green stronghold that has stood here for thousands of years.

"The Kulunda pine", he said. "The Kulunda Steppe everybody know about; but the pine - not many have heard of that."

## II. The Threshold of the Green

In the wide street of a steppe village there are no blades of grass - sand, and then more sand. Sparse stalks of quitch, a plant extraordinarily tenacious of life, thrust up through the sandy hillocks.

Tractors were standing in the workshop, which was not yet finished. Carpenters and plasterers were working quickly; reeds were being bound into bundles on the spot. It was easy to understand, without words, that the kolkhoz had bought tractors from the MTS and was hastening to set up its own repair-shop.

"A complete revolution in farming", Vasily remarked. "Kolkhozes are beginning to rise as though they had yeast in them."

We drove out of the village. In fifteen kilometres the wall of the forested zone rose up before us. Its beneficent influence could be felt at once. A little way back on the road I had seen short, stunted feather-grass, but here it was bending before the wind like thick oats. On the bare, dry steppe you do not often spot mugwort, but here, in the neighbourhood of the trees, you could admire its strong panicles of reddish flowers. And the sheep's fescue is taller, the white melilot, that smells of new-mown hay, grows a yard high, and the cornflower of the meadow would hardly recognize itself. You look about and you see clover, spiraea and catchfly with its hairy heads.

"You'll notice", my companion explained, "in these places there is always a crop. Even if there's no rain, let there be just a wee bit of seed, it'll grow none the less. And what does it? The old boy takes care of it", Vasily nodded at the woodland. "He stands there like a trusty green barrier, and doesn't let the wind or the sand get above themselves."

Even at the beginning of our drive Poplavsky had been lamenting some birch coppices, and now he began again to say that in the coppices the timber was being cut down and sawn up and trampled by cattle.

"Where's that?"

"Oh, on our sovkhos, in the Mikhailovsky rayon."

"You're from Mikhailovka? You mean you've been driving for seventy-two hours just to fetch seven cubic metres of timber?"

"Well, what can you do?" He smiled bitterly. "In our rayon great quantities of usable birch were taken away even before the arrival of the tselinniki (cultivators of virgin soil), and we were left with little poles of trees. You listen to the old people: crops, lakes, game, bees - they all dwindled along with the woods."



The mournful tale of the birch coppices situated between Omsk and Pavlodar was no news to me. In the Pavlodar oblast they are reckoned now at about seventy thousand hectares, and used to be much more. Birch cospes had existed for hundreds of years on the steppe, perhaps because the population was less and there was no motor transport.

"Oh, it's not a question of motors; it's a question of conscience", was Poplavsky's rejoinder.

Indeed this uncontrolled felling has become a disaster. The woodland belt is under the protection of special laws, but the birch cospes on the same steppe enjoy no rights of preservation at all. These cospes ought to have been included in the former group long ago: felling should be allowed, but only if it is linked with care and reforestation.

"There should be something about it in the paper! And about the sand!" Poplavsky cried.

"Haven't you tried?"

"Many times! You write, and you get an answer to say that your remarks have been sent on somewhere... Our paper's always got room for the harvest, but for the woods - not a hope. But in fact the crop depends on the trees."

We had driven up to a forester's check-point. Out of the hut with its high plank roof, pitched four ways, came a dusky Kazakh woman in red boots, a red kerchief on her head, holding a long cigarette. She went without to the barrier and raised it, and we crossed the boundary between the steppe and the first strip of woodland in the Barnaul-Kulunda-Semipalatinsk triangle.

And these were the only pine belts in the world standing in a sultry steppe. For thousands of years these trees have been holding up their rugged sides under wind and storm. They have been burnt, they have been cut clean down, they have been buried in sand, and yet nature has come out on top: the woodland belts have renewed themselves in the remains of the delta of an ancient river, in narrow gullies which seem to have survived since the melting of the glaciers.

The green giants had been eternally defenceless; but then, in 1943, they were given equal rights with the woods inside towns and at health resorts: that stopped the axes. And four years later the reforestation of the forested zones began, and nurseries for pine seedlings appeared. After that the felling of mature and overgrown timber was permitted, and corrective felling, etc., began to be carried out, which facilitated the restoration of the woods.

We bump into roots as we drive on. Here and there on the sandy hummocks there stand thick-set pines with dead branches sticking out of their trunks

almost from ground-level. These are the front-line troops, the outskirts of the woodland belt that receive the attacks of the "sand-bringer".

"They're secured by anchors", Vasily says of the pines growing at the edge of the belt.

"Anchors?"

"What are you smiling at? These pines keep the whole belt from being carried away along with the sand. Lateral roots - every pine is provided with them; but here they have to have a root sunk like a pile, too: it goes down deep, like an anchor. You try and tear up a tree like that!"

Is it a driver I am travelling with? Isn't he an agronomist? Or a forester who's taken on the job of a driver? No. It appears Vasya Poplavsky has done his ten years' schooling, then he was first a tractor-driver, then learnt to be a car-driver, and now he is in the course of being "promoted" to a mechanic, only he does not want to get mixed up with looking after vehicles: there are a hundred and fifty of them in the sovkhos!

"Yes, a hundred and fifty drivers, each with his own temperament: how are you to find a common language with each of them? But here" - he points at the steering-wheel with his chin - "I'm my own master... Well, of course one reads a few different books. And you hear about the forest belt from the foresters, or rather..." he paused with a smile, "from one forestress."

"Is she in the belt?"

"Yes."

"I see. And you drive three hundred kilometres to get there?"

"Someone's got to go and fetch the wood. I get sent."

We turn off into a ride: the soft-grey ruts of the sandy track stretch along it quite straight, with tall quitch growing on the ridges between the tracks of the wheels. We pass small posts dividing the wood into areas and plots. The wood suddenly becomes more open, and in the broad, bright glare numerous aspens are shivering and shaking their leaves with their whitish undersides glittering.

### III. The Forestry Section

Our lorry stopped by a hut with a plank gate and an osier fence. Vasily went into the forestry office and I walked towards the hut.

"Mamma's not in: she's at the plantations," I heard from inside the

fence. "Oh, no: Mamma's at the nursery to-day. My sisters are at the plantations."

In the small garden a slim, quick-eyed little girl was watering a tree-shoot, the size of a pencil, from a huge bucket. I went closer.

"And where's it better, at the nursery or at the plantations?"

"There's nowhere you can get a ruble for nothing." Clearly the little girl was repeating someone's words. "At the nurseries - patience; in the plantations, using your hatchet all day long under the sun - patience again..."

Listening to the talkative child I looked at the log huts. There is a great difference, though, between a settlement on the steppe and a settlement in the woods. On the steppe the village street is broad, the white cottages are built at a distance from each other, and there is room next them for pyramids of dung-and-straw briquettes, for ricks of straw and for hay. But in a hamlet in the woods the street is narrow and the rooms in the houses are small; they are roofed with planks and look like old men wearing caps and scowling. Every householder has his fence. There was a log fence reaching right up to this small five-walled house also, with, behind it, a small barn, a small bath-house, a well, a heap of logs and a knotty stump, standing like an idol. A short, square woman of about forty-five came in from her work. Her face, and her arms which were bare to the elbows, were so sunburnt that they were hardly distinguishable from her dark frock, especially now, in the twilight. This was my small talker's mother, Tat'yana Pavlovna Bezrukova, a delegate to the oblast council. She has won more than one prize for her splendid work at the nursery.

"I have four daughters, and my son came back from the army not long ago", she told me, throwing some billets of wood into the wide jaws of a Russian stove. "Himself was killed on the Kalinin front. A sniper. I've lost my husband, and the children - I've five round my neck. Think of having to feed them. The whole gang has come to work in the nursery with me - my girls grow and my pines grow, and it gives me pleasure to look at them. I began with three beds in the nursery, and now I've got three hundred!"

Tat'yana Pavlovna is satisfied on the whole with life in the forest belt, only she complains of having nothing to do in winter. In the summer there is not time to stop and take breath, and you earn good money; but when winter comes on it's more than you can bear, with nothing to do.

Her son's voice came from another room:

"On the sovkhozes they're idle in winter, too. Soon as they've got the corn in, there's nothing to do. The rootless ones go away, to their relations or to earn money; but by the spring they find their way back to

the sovkhos. And if things were done sensibly it'd be possible to provide work for everyone in winter, too, both on a sovkhos and in forestry... You go to the oblast meetings: you might say something about it."

"What haven't I said? And I'm not the only one..."

Tat'yana Pavlovna rolled out some fresh, flexible dough on the table, turned to me, and explained:

"The children picked some sorrel on the steppe, so I thought we'd have dumplings."

Tat'yana Pavlovna's other three daughters came in from the plantations. They were grown-up young women.

"Finished?" their mother asked.

"Finished," the girls answered all together.

"May say we've finished," said the eldest; "but the yearlings are covered up to the tops in sand, and the screens have been blown down, every single one."

"Up to the tops. Really?" The mother put her hands to the dough.

"To the very tops! A fearful storm blew in across the plain, from the direction of the Black Hill."

"Yes, it was a terrific storm." I wanted to have some talk with the polite Bezrukov family, and the girls laughed as I described how Poplavsky and I had sat in the cab of the lorry, huddled in the discoloured sacking.

Tongues of flame slithered up the sooty chimney from the capacious stove. The red light was reflected from our faces and hands, and we, looking like Red Indians, devoured bitter-sweet dumplings stuffed with the fresh sorrel. Now I could see the girls' faces properly.

"But where's your driver?" the third daughter, who had big eyes with long lashes, asked me, burning her fingers on a dumpling.

The youngest, the slender little girl, quickly answered for me:

"I was watering the maples, and he went into the office."

Tat'yana Pavlovna's son, a muscular young fellow dressed in a thin, pink jersey, made a remark in the tone of the eldest of the family:

"The dumplings are spoilt: there's a bit too much sugar. I said at

the time: 'Put less sugar in.'

"There's just enough sugar," his mother answered. "Without sugar they taste sour."

A squabble began, and at the height of it Poplavsky appeared in the hut.

"What's this row? Let me try!" he came to the table and took a dumpling, then a second and a third.

They all laughed, and I could see they were pleased by Vasily's arrival.

I asked Tat'yana Pavlovna how the seeding of woodland is done and she explained.

"In these parts the whole of nature is against the trees all the year round," said Tat'yana Pavlovna, "but we are planting trees, and we are eternally at war with nature."

"You may be fighting a war," Poplavsky calmly sipped tea from his saucer; "But it takes a hundred years to get logs from your pine seedlings. We haven't time to wait."

"Don't wait, then: there's enough timber in the forest belt for your lifetime. You work, and meanwhile we'll be growing timber for your grandchildren."

I was feeling drowsy, and I could not help confessing that I was very sleepy. Then they all began to bustle about. Although I tried hard to refuse to have a bed, or asked them to spread some bedding for me on the ground in the shed, I was given a feather-bed indoors.

After all this bother I lost my desire for sleep. It felt stuffy, my bed was too narrow, and the moonlight disturbed me. I sat on the bed and went over the day in my mind. I thought about Poplavsky: he must have brought me deliberately to this family when he stopped the lorry at the Bezrukovs' fence as though by chance. And suddenly, through the window, I saw Vasily with a girl; they were leaning their elbows on the blunt bonnet of the lorry and talking. Was it the eldest? I looked hard. No, not she, but the girl with the big eyes. Poplavsky was annoyed, and raised his voice: something had upset him. The girl was laughing.

I opened the window a tiny crack: curiosity would not let me rest.

"I shan't come."

"Nadyusha, you can't refuse."

"Why can't I? You know yourself that we Bezrukovs are a famous gang. We've grown more than a thousand pines and birches. And what is there at your place on the steppe?"

"Everything! Corn, meat, milk."

After a pause, the girl asked dejectedly:

"All the same, why don't you want to live in the woods?"

"Well, why should I?"

"And me? Why should I move from the woods to the steppe?"

"We've got woods, too."

"I know: birch thickets. And we live in a forest belt - the only one in the world. You must understand that."

In the morning I had a talk with a forester who lived in the same settlement. Vlas Vlasovich had worked for thirty years in the forest belt, as a warden, fireman and forester. He had had no higher education, indeed strictly speaking he had not even had the seven years' schooling, but as a forester he was one of the best there. His woman assistant had been at the Forestry Institute.

Every day the old man took his ramshackle one-and-a-half tonner out of the garage and himself drove the women weeders into the woods to the nursery, and the fellers to their sections. Vlas Vlasovich visited section after section, checking the previous day's work. The master's eye, he said, is specially needed where purveyors from the sovkhozes and kolkhozes are at work preparing the stores of wood, because they go for the timber a hundred to a hundred and twenty years old, and avoid the pines older than that.

"You have to follow one of those chaps with his axe and say, 'Cut this one, but don't touch that.'"

Like all old people who are getting on Vlas Vlasovich enjoyed recalling his young days in the forest belt. No, he'd never been bored. As if a man could be bored in a wood like that!... Fires were a worry, yes. They used to rage over hundreds of hectares, fences were burnt, cattle perished and the flames would spread to the dry mother-steppe itself. But not now. Now there were towers above the forest, with firemen on watch day and night, connected by telephone with the forestry centres and the administration.

We came back slowly along a wide glade from the plantations. Sheltered among the trees from the "drought-bringer", there is a carefree life for the narrow-leaved cereal plants, the catchfly, spiraea, which occupies a wide area in a continuous clump, quitch, and fescue. A small copse of five-year-old pines, a glittering grove of aspens - and again the glade with its varied grasses.

"I thought I'd try growing some birch out here," says Vlas Vlasovich. He strokes the cylindrical heads of the timothy-grass and the stalks of the foxtail, points me out some oat-grass, finds some sheep's fescue, and some wheat carried by the wind from the steppe into the forested zone.

"Summer wheat, but it's growing as if it **was** winter wheat. And there's some millet: there's a lot of it here... I've lived here for ages, and I don't remember **one** summer when there **wasn't** a good crop of millet. There **was** a time when not a single cereal would grow: but millet - like anything!" It is known that the area round a forest belt is the most suitable place for millet; knowledgeable people have written to the papers about it, but still little millet is sown. Vlas Vlasovich went on: "It ripens and falls very quickly; they don't like harvesting it. When it's ripe... don't dawdle. But we've got some people who're very fond of dawdling."

"And they're not used to sowing millet", I suggested.

"No, of course... It's the same thing with the wind-screens for the trees: we've been talking about them for twenty years, and they're not here, and the sand comes. They plough, and a fearful amount of sand comes... If only they'd go at tree-growing properly, like they did at cultivating the virgin soil - birches and maples would be rustling in the steppe, and the pines would be well dug in... We'll plough for ten years running, and then the steppe will go back to the wild, the people go away. And our woods'll wither. Love for the woods is dwindling away. Ask anyone at Pavlodar or Semipalatinsk, as long as he's not a driver or a forwarding agent, and doesn't go to fetch timber and firewood - ask anyone what the forest belt is, what direction it's in, how many kilometres it is to it - nobody knows. There should be a House of Rest here, and Pioneer camps: they never discover the best place of all. With the steppe and the woods we'll beat two Americas with our crops!"

We were approaching the nursery. The sun was burning mercilessly. The screens blown down by yesterday's squalls were lying on top of the beds like great combs.

"It's the most difficult thing of all to grow birches", Tat'yana Pavlovna told me, busy weeding, like the other women. "In the nursery the birch does well and lives happily, but, as soon as it leaves the nursery for the plantation as a two-year-old, then it's not a success."

"What is easy to grow, then?"

"Maple! It grows strongly, like an aspen. That's what ought to be grown as wind-breaks: maple screens!"

"But the birch is better if it's properly supported in the early years", says the voice of Nadya Bezrukova, and I think of Poplavsky.

"How did you sleep?" Nadya asked me.

"All right, thank you: and you?"

"By the evening you can't feel your legs under you. I slept very soundly."

"And when did my friend Vasily drive away?"

"That we don't know." The girl's face does not change at all, and she does not raise her hands from the bed, in order not to be left behind by her quick-working neighbour. "He drives off at dawn, as soon as there's the first tiny rustle of the early wind in the woods."

"Sensible chap", I say.

#### IV. The Young Mistress of the Forest

On the same day I made the acquaintance in another forestry section of a young woman who was the mistress of a hundred and thirty thousand hectares of wooded belt.

She was dark-eyed, with long plaits, and wore the foresters' uniform. She put her hand out awkwardly and introduced herself:

"Lyudmila."

When she heard that I came from Moscow the girl livened up, and our conversation became unconstrained.

She found it dull here; for a long time she had felt out of place in the forest.

"I have no days off", said Lyudmila. "I haven't the right to be away from my job without permission from the director of the administration; and in the heat of summer it doesn't do even to think of going away." She sighed. "I live as if I was chained up. I don't even dream of going to a theatre; the cinema's in the barn. We've got a lot of timber, and it would have been possible to build a big cinema; but who would come?"



We were slowly crossing a hollow left in the wood by an old fire: the timber had been entirely destroyed and there had come up instead a thick growth of perennial plants: briar roses glowed and the violet bells of campanula swung incessantly.

Lyudmila picked some bright-yellow flowers of tansy, and began to tell me about it.

"Observe, it's used against headaches and epilepsy, sick people with reduced acidity drink it..." She bent over a dryish stalk with a white flower and named a dozen or so ailments in which this plant was successfully used.

"Lyudmila Ivanovna! You ought to have learnt to be a doctor!"

"I have never thought of it. I look at all herbs with the eyes of my mother, and she is a chemist. She asks me in her letters about the plants that grow in the forest belt, and that makes me look in reference books and try to find people who know about healing herbs. Now we're going to the hollow where the cranberries are. They grow in all latitudes, and their berries, too, make excellent medicine; but I'll show you the bearberry", Lyudmila rummaged in the grass. "The berries are red like sealing-wax. The curative properties of the bearberry are widely known: it's also called 'bear's ear'."

In the undergrowth, among the quitch and timothy-grass, lay the gigantic corpses of trees: they looked like the others, but if you stood on any of them you would go through into rotten dust.

These trees, said Lyudmila, were cut down nearly forty years ago, in Kolchak's time, when he was in a hurry to lay a railway from Omsk to Semipalatinsk. In those days there was no use for them and no motor transport to move them, then the opening up of the virgin soil began and the demand for timber grew, but by then the fallen trees had rotted.

So it was. In the Pavlodar oblast alone many new sovkhoses have been founded in the last few years, and in the kolkhoses, too, building has increased more and more. Demand for timber had grown so much that in a short time the forest belt has become visibly sparser.

"So when I'd finished my course they sent me here to put things into shape." Lyudmila sighed heavily, was silent, and then spoke as if to herself: "We'll go now to the deputy manager of the administration; and the oblast inspector has come, too. They'll tick me off for this and for that, in the past and in the present; and I shall be thinking all the time about escaping from the forest. Now tell me, on your conscience: ought a young woman, town-bred, to be put to live in a forest for ever?"

Then, without naming names, I told of the conversation I had overheard the night before.

"What are you saying? If you're talking about the neighbours, there are two Bezrukov daughters who've done the ten-year course. However, there are lots of young people in that section who've had a secondary education. And it's true a Bezrukov girl would hardly leave the forest zone now. Tat'yana Pavlovna would make no end of a fuss."

"But why shouldn't you set yourself just such an object?"

"Me?...Be a heroine? And besides... Now Vlas Vlasovich's got lots of interesting ideas, too. You have a talk with him some time."

At a boundary post we met the inspector who had come from Pavlodar and the deputy manager of the administration. We sat down on a big tree-trunk and the inspector, in a forester's jacket with the Komsomol badge on the breast pocket, looked round him and pointed out to us a round hole in the reddish-brown bark, as if there had been a small nail there. I did not understand at all, but a slight flush appeared on Lyudmila's cheeks: the young mistress of the woods was in the wrong. The tree had been felled in the spring, and the bark-beetle had already penetrated its thick shirt in numerous places.

"Who's spreading this infection in your woods, Lyudmila Ivanovna?"

"The combine", Lyudmila answered with marked calmness.

"Why don't you have them fined?"

"I've spoken to them, and written. We don't allow them into the woods with a tractor, and you can't get the stuff out quickly with oxen."

"Lyudmila Ivanovna, we're going to punish you."

The girl was silent, although she might have told how out of the combine's six mechanical saws three were not working, and how many of the logs brought to the saws could not be sawn up because they were too thick. She might have recalled that there were considerable quantities of mature and over-mature timber in the sections, and the combine's stock of timber was allotted to it somewhere fifty kilometres away: but all this had been said many times already, and put on paper.

"Why are stocks of timber allotted by the Oblast Planning Board, not by us?" Lyudmila's face grew red and her eyes flashed. "Let them give a comprehensive figure for felling in the forest zone, and we'll allot sections ourselves. The combine felled a little of my wood in April, and then went off to fell half a hundred kilometres away and forgot about this

forest. They don't manage to pay punctually for the timber they've felled, and I'm to get them fined as well! Fines and quarrels: that's no way to work."

"And is this?" The inspector pointed to the tracks of the beetle in the trunk.

"It shall be taken away to-morrow or the day after."

Two young woodmen were working in the thick pine-wood. White chips were flying. The inspector remarked that dead wood ought not to be cut but sawn. The woodmen looked at their young boss: what would she say? Lyudmila was silent.

"Has anyone told you that?" the inspector asked the men working.

"My fault," said Lyudmila abruptly. "I know sawing is the proper way, but we couldn't find a saw for this job."

We walk unhurriedly through the wood. On a sandy hillock is a thick young growth of pines, shadowed by two spreading tree-tops. The inspector stops by the young growth.

"Clearing ought to be done in time, and light let in", he remarks.

"We haven't enough hands", Lyudmila sighs, and then says sharply. "We're too fond of thinning. From lighting and clearing we get sticks and branches, but from thinning we get poles - in other words, something to sell. So we go in more for thinning, and there aren't enough hands for clearing. Are we right?"

The inspector said nothing and Lyudmila added:

"We're in a hurry to make a profit."

In a talk with Vlas Vlasovich I told him my impression of the woman who was his assistant. The forester listened attentively to my remarks and anxiously smoothed his grey temples.

"People like Tat'yana Pavlovna's girls ought to be sent to the forestry colleges. In their cradles their mother whispered to them about pine seedlings in the nursery and plantations, and then when they'd done their ten years of school they came into the work themselves, too: they had the taste for it... But as for Lyudmila Ivanovna...well, I'm not going to blame her. I've seen dozens of young engineers here from the academies, from the institutes. They buzz round, flutter about, and then fly away. The forest, you see - you've got to have the peculiar habit of it. But that girl - I think she won't fly away. To start with she got a good grip of the grasses,

and now she listens to us older men; and she's not going to let the management allot timber supplies in that senseless way. She'll turn into a forester yet: you mark my words."

#### V. The Protection of the Green Belts

At Pavlodar, in the forestry directorate, I was shown some striking figures.

In the forest belt in the first summer of the opening-up of the virgin lands: 282,000 cubic metres of mature and over-mature timber had been cut; in the second summer 352,000; in the third 483,000; and in the fourth half a million cubic metres. This was in the Pavlodar oblast alone, not counting the Altay region. From summer to summer ever-increasing quantities of forest-belt timber will be felled.

It is calculated that last summer a hundred thousand trips were made by motor transport into the forest: in the next few years the number of these trips will be doubled, trebled. And what does a lorry's visit to the forest mean? Where a lorry and trailer turns around a dozen young pines are injured. Hundreds of men going ahead to get the timber ready, hundreds of paths, hundreds of thousands of wheel-tracks. No wonder the forestry administrations are even now ploughing up the paths into the woods, and cutting deep trenches across them, leaving only the indispensable tracks to the gates at the edge of the woods.

A tree, when it is sawn and falls, damages the young growth. All the summer the top and lop of the felled trees is stacked ready for burning in the autumn. If a pile is burned inside the wood, dozens of young pines are destroyed with it. A million trees felled means ten million destroyed by trees falling, and in or near bonfires. Small branches can be pressed into blocks and slabs; compressed pine-twigs - pure resin - make splendid fuel. Perhaps ordinary hay-presses would do; there are plenty of them at the kolkhozes and sovkhoses in Kazakhstan, but there is little use for them. There are other possible uses for the top and lop, but at least they should be taken out of the woods before burning so that bonfires in the forest belt shall not ruin the young growth.

"Bonfires aren't the chief enemy of the forest belt," says Vlas Vlasovich. "The most dangerous thing for it is the hundreds of advance-workers. They come into the sections with one object only: to take away timber. So they cut the woods to pieces, driving tracks in any direction, if only they can get out more easily with their load..."

Yes, that is all true. The forestry administration allots to the advance-workers the timber standing, shedding the responsibility for its felling, and the advance-workers become complete masters in their section.

Speculation flourishes: the management of the forest belt cannot pay, for example, more than six rubles for a cubic metre of timber, but a kolkhoz pays forty. The shark, who has been hired to get the timber ready for a kolkhoz, makes liberal terms with a travelling gang and will not be the loser himself, because he will by-pass the forest gate and smuggle timber out for sale.

In the birch coppices of the Irtysh country unauthorized felling has become a calamity. One small estate has been robbed of more than seven hundred cubic metres of timber in one summer; in three years four estates had 3,300 cubic metres of birch stolen, that is thirty thousand trees. Thieves steal from the forest belt too; they come in lorries and light trucks, and the foresters are on foot.

I was told at the forestry directorate that there has not yet been an instance in which the Pavlodar oblast has taken any interest in the growing of timber, but in felling it, on the other hand, it is constantly interested. On occasion if current stock is exhausted the Oblast Executive Committee (oblispolkom) gives orders for future stock to be felled.

There is a crowd of people who want permission to get wood queuing up at the oblispolkom. Why at the oblispolkom? Why do people have to go for wood to the Regional Committees (raykomy) of the Party? What is wanted is one purveyor who knows the needs of the oblast, not hundreds, as there are now. All the forestry workers are talking about this. One commissary: that means machine-saws in the belt, timber-trimming appliances, the provision of standard houses, stables, cow-byres. At once the necessity will fall off for allowing fifty motor vehicles every day into the felling sections, superfluous tracks will disappear, the number of gates will be reduced, thieves will become extinct. Autumn bonfires will not be lit at haphazard in the felling sections; perhaps presses will appear for making blocks out of top and lop. The commissary will have to concern himself about the growing of timber: he takes the crop - he'll have to see to the sowing!

I was waiting for Poplavsky at the barrier-gate of the wood, in order to go back to the town with him.

Vasily, ploughing through the sand, the body of his lorry filled with logs, drove up to the barrier. The same Kazakh woman, with her red boots and a cigarette, untied the long rope fastened to the beam which barred the way through, and one end of the beam rose high in the air to let the lorry pass.

When we were past the last pine Poplavsky said:

"The sky's been unusually blue over the woods all to-day; that means rain."

"It was blue yesterday, too", I replied.

"If two clouds join there'll be very hard rain, that's a sure sign: and now here about three clouds have met head-on, and yet there hasn't been any rain. This my fourth summer on the steppe: two years with a good harvest, two with a bad; and near a wood there was a good harvest every time; but the woodlands have been disturbed... The trend to restore the forested zones is a correct one... nurseries, plantations - and at the same time in every section there are a dozen different bosses with their axes..." He spoke slowly, wearily, without ceasing to turn the wheel. "We plant a thousand pines, and knock down two thousand with our wheels."

Now it was the steppe again, with no bushes or trees; again it was the grey, sandy road between the grasses scorched by the sun, flocks of fine-fleeced sheep scattered over the country, looking like bluish clouds in the distance; the new, slate-roofed houses of the new sovkhoses... Three million hectares of virgin soil have been ploughed in the Pavlodar oblast. But there are no wind-break plantations: perennial grasses have been sown - a drop in the ocean. Big crops have been reaped on the virgin lands, but every year these harvests will grow smaller and smaller if woods are not grown and perennial grasses sown.

"They've unburied them", said Poplavsky, enigmatically as usual.

"Unburied what?"

"The yearlings. They were clean covered in sand: not a pine needle poking out anywhere... They cleared the sand from every set with their hands. Some girls!... Now, am I a good fellow, or aren't I?"

"In what way?"

"Taking you to see that family?"

I praised both Poplavsky and Tat'yana Pavlovna's family, and half jokingly advised Vasya not to bring his bride from the forest belt to the steppe. Poplavsky, not in the least surprised at my being so well informed, sighed and admitted that his young woman was extremely stubborn, and that he would probably have to go and live in the woods all the same.

#### Note

(1) 62 puds = 1 metric ton.

T H E   N E W S P A P E R S   O F   A Z E R B A Y D Z H A N

The following brief report is based on an examination of the two chief organs of the press of the Azerbaydzhani SSR, the Russian language newspaper BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, and the Azerbaydzhani language newspaper KOMMUNIST, during the period from 1st April to 29th June 1958. Both these newspapers are published daily except for Sundays and official holidays.

The report has been compiled by C.G. Simpson, Reader in Turkish in the University of Durham and author of THE TURKISH LANGUAGE OF SOVIET AZERBAIJAN (London, 1957), and will be of special interest to readers now that the Azerbaydzhani SSR is being included in the scope of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW.

Both the newspapers selected for examination are official organs of the Communist Party and they have their counterparts in the republics of Central Asia and in Kazakhstan. It is probable that in these republics also the Russian and vernacular Party organs stand in the same relation to each other as in Azerbaydzhani.

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### Layout

Both newspapers consist of four pages of the same size as those used for the Moscow PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA and closely resemble them in format and type of information.

Page One was normally devoted to the main items of all-Union or Azerbaydzhani home news, foreign news and leading articles; when occasion demanded, one topic was made dominant - such as, for example, the major policy speeches by Khrushchev, the USSR declarations of friendship with the United Arab Republic or Albania, the birthday of Lenin or the May Day celebrations.

Page Two dealt with similar topics, but there was more subsidiary Azerbaydzhani news, and not infrequently, special articles on agriculture, industry and the arts.

Page Three was less formal. Official declarations tended to be absent unless they were continuations from a preceding page. There were more articles by specialists on international and home affairs, local politics, local agriculture and industry, social matters, literature, music, drama and other arts.

Page Four was normally devoted to shorter items of home and foreign news (largely Tass reports), special features about international and

Azerbaydzhani affairs, obituaries, cartoons, articles on sport, music and literature, and advertisements.

Photographs were to be found on all pages.

### Contents

(1) No further reference is necessary here to those all-Union matters which receive full treatment in all the major newspapers of the USSR although they occupy a large and prominent part - perhaps a fifth or sixth - of the total space. Such matters included reports on visiting notabilities (the King of Nepal, President Nasser), the proceedings of the Union Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, the anniversary of Marx and Lenin.

(2) Leading articles occurred on three days out of four. The main subject was communist politics; and politics overflowed abundantly in articles more specifically dealing with industry and agriculture. Only one article in each paper was devoted to external affairs - that on Soviet-Arab relations occasioned by President Nasser's visit. For the most part both papers followed the normal political trends to be found in other Soviet newspapers; they discussed the Party, the education of Party cadres, youth, peace and the like. A local Azerbaydzhani flavour could be noticed throughout, with Azerbaydzhani republic personalities, factories and kolkhozes receiving mention.

Apart from politics the leading articles reflected the current interest in cotton-growing and stock-raising, and in the chemical and oil industries; in the celebration of the jubilee of the Azerbaydzhani State Theatre, and in such varied matters as the medical services, cinema building, spas, summer sports, the third Soviet sputnik and the lamentable state of the press circulation.

The tone of the leading articles was one of criticism and exhortation. The topics in each paper differed, but the same type of topic occurred in both; perhaps KOMMUNIST paid more attention to agriculture and BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY devoted relatively more space to industry - but this was a natural reflection on the interests of the two language speaking communities.

(3) Both papers contained much 'official' Azerbaydzhani news, such as the speeches, reports and decrees made in the Azerbaydzhani SSR Supreme Soviet, Presidium, Council of Ministers or Central Committee of the Azerbaydzhani Communist Party. It is here that the student of Azerbaydzhani affairs will find the planning measures in both general and detailed terms and where he can study the success or failure in farm or factory.

(4) Agricultural matters, as may be expected, occupied a considerable space in both papers, and articles and reports of all types provided a wealth of material for study. These varied from official reports of the



sowing, cultivation and harvesting measures (for which statistics by rayon were given at frequent intervals), to short statements of factual information, special reports by journalists on the spot, signed articles by leading kolkhoz or rayon officials, and the accounts by the newspaper 'inspecting brigades' on what they observed in the field.

The newspapers reflected the very great attention now being given to cotton cultivation. Nevertheless, all types of agriculture from cereals, livestock and fruit to tobacco, potatoes and mulberry leaves were dealt with.

Much attention was paid to the political aspects of agriculture - to socialist competition, the MTS and mechanization: less prominent were informative and scientific articles on agriculture.

The tone throughout was largely, though not entirely, one of criticism. The delays in cultivation and irrigation, the misuse of machinery, the bureaucracy were pilloried in word and cartoon.

(5) As regards industry, articles were predominantly concerned with oil and the chemical industry based on oil. Both political and scientific aspects were dealt with in detail in the newspapers, and long and informative articles by specialists on such topics as synthetic fibres, polymer resins and plastics, synthetic rubber and geological surveys lay alongside trade union reports, discussion of building projects and the use of automation.

(6) In politics considerable attention was paid to official reports of both all-Union and Azerbaydzhan political bodies. Local party and trade union matters were dealt with at length, and there were frequent special articles on any subject with a political aspect. Examples of the latter included the thirty-eighth anniversary of the establishment of the republic, the duties of railway workers, the economic and political education of kolkhoz and factory workers and the need for greater press circulation.

Special articles dealing with aspects of foreign affairs were also numerous. These varied from commentaries on the work of UNO and articles on nuclear weapons, to accounts of the meetings of foreign Communist Parties, descriptions of life in Bulgaria, Albania, the United Arab Republic and Kenya and the ten years of Soviet-Finnish friendship.

Factual information about life in Western Europe and North America was, as in the other Soviet newspapers, almost entirely lacking. The newspaper reader in Azerbaydzhan was made aware, it is true, by means of photographs, of the Aldermaston march, the unemployed in Alabama or the "man-handling of students" in Nicosia: he learnt little more. The Tass reports, given almost every day, were world-wide in coverage, but dealt almost exclusively with political matters, and were similar to or identical with the reports given in the rest of the Soviet Press. There was also little factual information about other parts of the USSR if the relative





size of Azerbaydzhan and the USSR are borne in mind; and a striking absence of news from other Turkish speaking republics.

Cartoons played only a minor rôle as features of commentary on internal and external news. In matters of the agriculture of the republic they held up to ridicule the idle or inefficient bureaucrat; in foreign affairs their main target was the USA, usually in the form of a brutalised soldier, intent on dominating the helpless Middle East countries.

(7) Social matters and the arts as a whole received considerable attention. The large and ample treatment of music, the theatre and the film reflected the popular interest in and the importance attached to these cultural activities. Criticism was at a high level.

In literature perhaps the most interesting features were the special articles in both papers on Fuzuli and Saadi (on the occasion of their anniversaries) and the treatment of historico-political books in reviews. One review, in KOMMUNIST, criticised the faults of omission in a recent history of Azerbaydzhan literature in not dealing sufficiently with the writers of southern Azerbaydzhan; another, on the history of the republic during the years 1921-25, reprimanded the author for incorrectly evaluating the rôle of the Hummet organisation.

Little mention was made of religion or militant atheism, although BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY reprinted in translation an article by a Ukrainian ex-priest, and KOMMUNIST called for stronger educational measures against the "Islamic religious survivals" which, it seems, are still encountered even among the youth of the republic.

### Conclusion

The two newspapers were very evenly balanced as regards contents. The seemingly greater emphasis that KOMMUNIST paid to agriculture was a natural consequence of the fact that the Azerbaydzhani-speaking people are relatively more important in the countryside. It might have been thought that the papers, catering as they do for two language communities, would reveal differing interests; such was not the case.

To the Western student these papers are of interest, not only in the way in which they can reveal the great development that is taking place in agriculture and industry in the republic, but also for the light they cast on the cultural achievements of a people which was, forty years ago, nine-tenths illiterate.

THE PROGRESS OF THE  
KARA - KUM CANAL, 1957 - 58

The background to the Kara-Kum canal project in Turkmenistan and the initial stages of its construction were fully dealt with in *CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 255-62. Further details of its progress were given in Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 277-8. Now that the first section of the canal, from Bassaga on the Amu-Dar'ya to Mary on the Murgab, is almost completed and work is about to start on the second section from Mary to Tedzhen, it seems appropriate to review the progress so far achieved.

. . . .

The initial problem confronting the constructors of the Kara-Kum canal was the difficulty in determining its exact course; but the natural requirements of the lands in that part of the desert finally suggested what route it should follow. Cotton seems to have been the chief factor in the planning of the course of the canal: every year the cotton-growers of the Mary and Ashkhabad oblasts suffered grave losses through the shortage of water for irrigation, and the situation in the important cotton-growing oases in the deltas of the Murgab and Tedzhen was particularly unsatisfactory. In the lower reaches of those rivers the amount of water gradually decreases until the branches constituting their deltas vanish into the sands.

It was originally intended that work on the first stage of the project should start in 1947. In fact it must have started some years later as by May 1954 only 100km. of the first section had been completed. (1) By the beginning of 1957 the waters of the Amu-Dar'ya filled the canal up to a point 187km. from its starting point on that river (2), and by October 1957 a large sector (Pionernyy kanal) running from Lake Chaksak towards Mary was ready to be put into operation. A year later water flowed along 237km. (3), and by the middle of October 1958 it reached the Murgab oasis. (4)

By the end of 1957 various difficulties had arisen; one of them being the problem of dealing with water plants. Though at many points between the Chaksak and Sredniye lakes the bed of the canal was the required size and the level of water in the Kelif lakes was sufficient to produce a flow of 40 cubic metres of water per second through the canal, it was found that hardly half that amount reached the canal owing to the great quantity of water plants in the lakes. As none of the steps taken by the constructors produced the desired result, the help of scientists was invited; but it is not said how the problem was finally solved. At the same time the Sredniye lakes were responsible for another difficulty as the water of the canal did not flow through them fast enough owing to the low water level. It was calculated that over 40m. cubic metres of water were needed to achieve the

desired level, but as in fact this rose only by two centimetres per day, a delay of about three months in filling the canal resulted. The question was solved by building a hydro-knot (gidrouzel) on Lake Chaksak, and the intake of water from the Amu-Dar'ya increased by over 10 cubic metres per second so that as much as 50 cubic metres per second flowed through the canal past the village of Nichka situated in the heart of the desert.

After the difficulties presented by Kelif Uzboy lakes had been solved, their presence proved a definite advantage to the operating of the canal. The water of the Amu-Dar'ya is very turbid owing to the great amount of sand, clay and silt which the river carries from the Pamirs. It has been calculated that a cubic metre of water contains four kilogrammes of sand and that this amount doubles when the snows are melting in the mountains. This is why the southern shore of the Aral Sea is advancing so fast into the sea and the area of the delta of the Amu-Dar'ya keeps rapidly growing. But the water of the Kara-Kum canal west of the lakes is remarkably pure and clear, for the lakes act as a kind of filter. It has been estimated that they will act as such for not more than 50 years and that they will gradually be filled up with the Amu-Dar'ya deposits. The so-called Potapov trap (shchity) has therefore been constructed at the mouth of the canal, in order to prevent the particles of sand from entering it.

The lakes were not the only difficulty confronting the constructors. One hundred kilometres to the west of Nichka, near Zakhmet railway station, the course of the canal was crossed by the Kel'tabeden gorge whose capacity approximated 7m. cubic metres. It became essential to fill up the gorge before the water of the canal could be directed towards Zakhmet; this work was in progress in September 1958.

A somewhat similar problem had to be dealt with in the course of the previous year by the group working from the direction of Mary. A large fissure (dzhar) lay across the bed of the canal and every spring a very considerable quantity of rain-water gathered in it. In order that it might not interfere with the working of the canal, a syphon (dyuker) was constructed, that is, a reinforced concrete device through which up to 200 cubic metres of water per second could flow under the bed of the canal to the opposite part of the fissure.

Maintaining the canal in good working order is a difficult task as a section of 150 kilometres runs through the desert regions of the oblast of Mary, and at many places areas of shifting sands adjoin the canal. The leskhoz (forestry department) of Mary is responsible for the maintenance of its banks, in connection with which it is expected to spend about 2m. rubles in the course of 1958 (5). The plan includes the construction of mechanical protective devices (mekhanicheskiye zashchity) covering an area of 295ha., as well as the planting of young trees and bushes (300 ha.) and trees especially adapted to desert conditions (1,000 ha.). The same plan has been adopted for the areas of shifting sands near Zakhmet railway

station and the Kizylcha-Baba well.

A remarkable phenomenon is the appearance of life in the desert along the canal (6). This is not only due to the deliberate action on the part of the authorities to colonize those regions: wild geese and ducks, gulls and herons have appeared in large numbers on the lakes, and various kinds of Amu-Dar'ya fish are now found as far as 200km. up the canal.

New villages have sprung up along the canal. The town of Karamet-Niyaz, which a few years ago was not on the map, now flourishes in the desert as a canal port; the village of Nichka is so new it is not yet on any map. The ample supply of water for irrigation has enabled the kolkhozes to expand their fields; this will be particularly important to the Mary oblast which is producing high-quality cotton. New sovkhoses will be set up along the canal, each producing as much cotton as the whole of the Mary oblast used to yield before the building of the canal. It is now becoming possible to develop sheep-breeding as the animals no longer depend on the scanty wells scattered over the desert, while the expansion of the irrigation system provides more food for them.

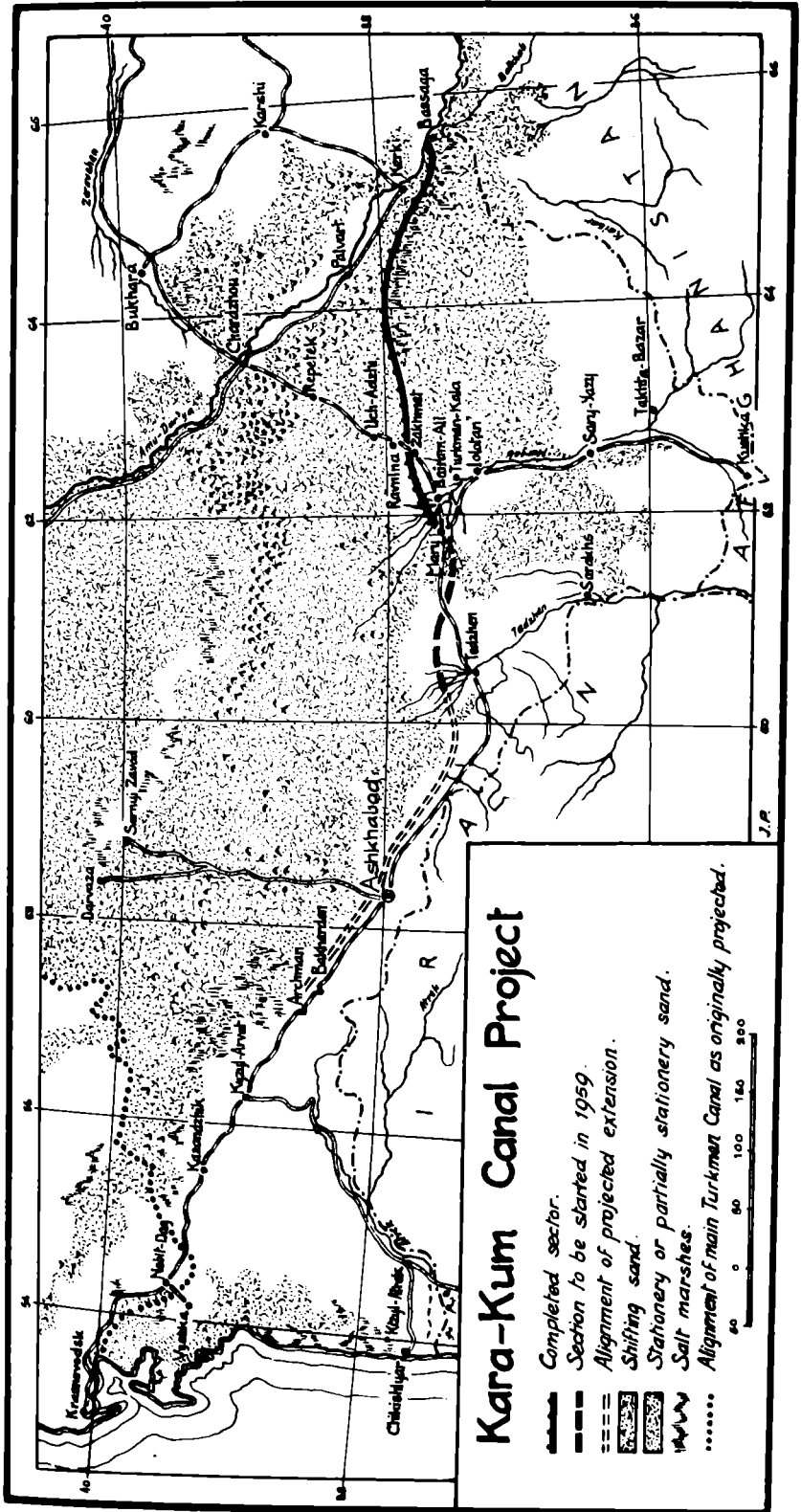
With the completion of the canal as far as the Murgab oasis the first section of the project is almost finished. In 1959 the construction of the second section, connecting the Murgab with the Tedzhen river will begin. It will be 140km. long, and in addition reservoirs will be built to regulate the flow of water in winter to prevent the winter rainfall flowing to waste. The cost of the total enterprise is expected to reach more than one and a half milliard rubles. The completion of the second sector will allow the irrigation of 196,000 ha. of land in the oblasts of Mary and Ashkhabad, and the development of cattle-breeding as 5m. ha. of land for grazing will come into use. New sovkhoses will be set up: twelve cotton-growing, four for grape cultivation, and two cattle-breeding.

#### Notes








- (1) See "The Kara-Kum Canal Project", CAR, Vol.II, No.3.
- (2) CAR, Vol.V, No.3, p.277
- (3) TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 1.1.58.
- (4) Ibid, 17.10.58.
- (5) Ibid, 23.3.58.
- (6) CAR, Vol.II, No.3, pp.260-2.

#### Source

TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 1957-58.



# Kara-Kum Canal Project

-  Completed sector.
-  Section to be started in 1959.
-  Alignment of projected extension.
-  Shifting sand.
-  Stationery or partially stationery sand.
-  Salt marshes.
-  Alignment of main Turkmen Canal as originally projected.







## B O O K   A N A L Y S E S

THE UZBEK SSR. Ed. N.L.Korzhenevskyy. Published by the State Geographical Publishing House, Moscow, 1956. 470 pp.

This book was produced by the Geographical Faculty of the Central Asian State University: it is a composite work, and the names of the many contributors are given in a foreword. The maps are comparatively easy to read, and the photographs are rather sharper than is often the case in Soviet publications. There is no index; but there is a list (pp.459-63), with local and Latin names, of flora mentioned in the text, and a bibliography (pp.464-9). The book is divided into three main parts: 1. A description of the natural conditions and resources of Uzbekistan (pp.9-144); 2. An account of its population and economy (pp.145-253); 3. A separate account of each of the oblasts and of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR (pp.254-458).

The introduction (pp.5-8) briefly describes the geographical position of Uzbekistan between the two great rivers, with the Aral Sea to the north-west and Afghanistan to the south, and its physical composition and administrative partition. It is the "main cotton base" of the USSR, for which it produces two-thirds of the total, and for cotton production holds the second place in the world. Other important products are silk, karakul fleeces, and preserved fruits; and the economy fits into the "division of labour" of the Union as a whole. Then follow some remarks on the great development of Uzbek agriculture (in the widest sense), industry, and "culture" since the Revolution.

Part 1 begins by tracing the history of the geographical exploration (pp.9-18) of Uzbekistan from the time of Alexander the Great (Arrian and Q. Curtius are the sources), drawing the conclusion that there has been no great change in the climate of Central Asia since his time, and that the theory of the continuous desiccation of Central Asia is mistaken. It refers to fragments from Chinese historians, to the Arabs, including Ibn-Batuta, and to Clavijo; and says that the first really dependable geographical data we come upon in modern times are in the chronicle composed in the sixteenth century by Abdulgazi Bagadurkhan, the ruler of Khiva, and in the Babur-nameh. After this the place of importance belongs to Russian explorers and their accounts: the KNIGA BOL'SHOMU CHERTEZKU (composed at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries), which describes the Aral Sea and its environment, and says something about artificial irrigation; the journey of Mikhail Tikhonov and Bukharov in 1613, when they went across the Kara-Kum into Persia; Bekovich-Cherkasskyy (1715); Florio Beneveni, Peter the Great's ambassador to Khiva and Bukhara (1721-25); Gladyshev and Muravin (1740-43); and Filipp

Yefremov (a prisoner at Bukhara from 1774-82)

Systematic study of Uzbekistan was not begun until the scientific expedition of Col. Berg in 1825 to explore the Ustyurt. This was followed by G.S. Karelin's to the Caspian Sea (1832-36); Butenev's to Bukhara, the Kyzyl-Kum and the Zeravshan Valley (1841-42); the naturalist Baziner's description of the Khiva Oasis (1843); and Lieut. A.I. Butakov's complete exploration and mapping of the Aral Sea (1848-49).

After the occupation of Tashkent (1865) and Khiva (1873) exploration was considerably easier, and the names of many explorers and scientists are given, including Barbot de Marny, V.A. Obruchev, N.A. Zarudnyy, and P.P. Semenov-Tyan-Shanskyy, whose *TURKESTANSKIY KRAY* was published in 1913. It reads as though the list includes every reputable authority on Uzbekistan. Scientific institutions arose, on a small scale in Tsarist times, culminating in the setting up, by Lenin's decree in 1920, of the State (now the Central Asian) University in Tashkent, with its many faculties, and of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences there in 1934. There follows some account of the scientific expeditions carried out, and the subjects studied, in Soviet times.

Next come sections on the physical structure (pp.18-28) and the nature of the surface of the ground (pp.28-51), the former being a description of the processes which have taken place since pre-Cambrian times, and the latter a detailed physical description of the various areas of the republic as they are to-day, viz: the south-west Kyzyl-Kum (divided into three regions: northern, central, and south-western); the Amu-Dar'ya delta; the Ustyurt plateau; the Tashkent-Golodnaya Step' depression; the Fergana Valley; the Sanzar-Nurata depression; the Zeravshan depression (this last section is 10 pages long and includes the Kashka-Dar'ya and Surkhan-Dar'ya depressions). Next come forty-odd pages (pp.51-95) devoted to the climate and the seasonal growth of vegetation, beginning with the factors which govern the climate (a continental one) - solar radiation, atmospheric circulation and so on, the climatic differences in the four seasons of the year, and a table of the average first blossoming of various flora in nine selected places; and continuing with a study of the water, so unevenly distributed, from the plains (70 per cent of the territory), where the water-courses are "newcomers" (prishliye) and are continually being lost through irrigation, infiltration, and evaporation, to the hills, where they are innumerable. This section contains detailed analyses of the river-system, the lakes, and the subterranean waters. The following section is divided into two, the first (pp.95-101) a classification of the various soils found in Uzbekistan, with a glance at the work of S.S. Nestruyev and I.P. Gerasimov, and the second (pp.102-8) a short description of the composition and qualities of the soils, unirrigated (bogarniye) and irrigated, in the agricultural areas. The next section (pp.108-27) deals with the vegetation, which is characterized by its clearly defined zonality (poyasnost') varying with its height above sea-level; and we read how K.Z. Zakirov has quite recently suggested that only four zones should be distinguished and that they should be called by the local names (from below upwards): chul', adyr, tau,

yaylau; and E.P. Korovin distinguished sixteen types of vegetation which he groups under four heads. There follows (pp.128-34) a brief description of the fauna, from the rodents (marmots, etc.) and snakes of the desert to the Siberian goat of the western Tyan'-Shan'. This, however, is a general account for the whole of Uzbekistan, and it is followed (pp.134-44) by separate descriptions (physical conformation, flora, and fauna) for ten separate areas: 1. The Ustyurt; 2. The Amu-Dar'ya delta; 3. The Kyzyl-Kum; 4. The Tashkent-Golodnaya Step' depression; 5. The Fergana Valley; 6. The Sanzar-Nurata depression; 7. The Zeravshan depression; 8. The Kashka-Dar ya depression; 9. The Surkhan-Dar'ya depression; 10. The highlands. (The data about the last are almost entirely climatical and meteorological.)

Part 2 of the book starts with twelve pages (pp.145-56) headed "Population and Culture", and deals with the condition of the people under the emirate of Bukhara and the khanates of Kokand and Khiva, and tells how, after the union (prisoyedineniye) with Russia, although feudal relationships were not destroyed, capitalism brought changes in the economy of Uzbekistan (not yet defined or so named), which led to the increase of a working-class (both native and immigrant) and the growth of democratic and revolutionary ideas, with the strikes and demonstrations they produced in 1905-7 and before and during the First World War. The Revolution is briefly mentioned, the Civil War and the defeat of the Basmachi movement internal dissidence and foreign intervention; then the development of industry, agriculture and "culture", with enormous help from the peoples of the RSFSR; the allotment of irrigated land; the founding of Tashkent State University in 1920; the razmezhvaniye in 1924; the land and water reforms begun in 1925; the liquidation of feudalism, and the increase of education of every sort. There follows a section, with a table, on the numbers and distribution of the population; and one on the "thick network of schools" and the large number of tebrikums, higher educational institutions (VUZ), theatres, clubs, cinemas and other cultural establishments.

The section on industry (pp.156-95), after some general remarks, with figures and tables, on how industry has grown enormously from its rudimentary, 'home industry' or handicraft form of pre-Revolutionary times, is divided into four: I. Heavy industry, described under the heads (a) the Oil fuel industry; (b) Electrical energy; (c) Metallurgy; (d) Metal-working and machine-construction, this head being subdivided into (1) agricultural machinery; (2) cotton-cleaning machinery; (3) textile machinery; (4) food-industry machinery (milk-churns, canning apparatus, etc.); (5) machinery for servicing the coal, oil, and gas industries; (6) chemical machinery (made at the Sredazkhimmash factory at Chirchik); (7) electro-technical machinery - to produce small hydro-turbines, electric cables, etc.; (8) hoisting machinery - cranes, etc., made chiefly at the Tashkent Pod'emnik factory; (9) earth-work machinery - excavators, bulldozers, graders, etc., for building roads and canals; (10) transport

machinery - repairs and production of spare parts for automobiles, railway engines, etc., (e) Chemical industry; the expansion of cotton-growing has led to an enormously increased demand for artificial manure, and in 1940 the electro-chemical combine at Chirchik started work, producing nitrogenous fertilizer; it is the biggest works of its sort in the Soviet Union. About a page follows on the production and use of artificial fertilizers; (f) Building-materials industry: before the Revolution nearly all building-material was imported from Russia, although Uzbekistan possesses resources sufficient for the majority of its needs. This industry was in 1940, 27 times as great as in pre-Revolutionary times, and many of its products (cement, piping, window-glass, etc.) are exported into other parts of the Union.

II. Light industry - cotton, paper, silk-weaving, etc. Instead of the 210 cotton-cleaning works of pre-Revolutionary times, for instance, semi-home industries, working seasonally, there are now 62 big mechanized plants, and some of their raw cotton is sent to be worked up there by Kirgizia, Kazakhstan and Tadzhikistan. (There are photographs of the Andizhan cotton-cleaning works No. 3, and of the Fergana textile combine.) Much information is given about the production of textiles and clothing.

III. The food-industry. Before the Revolution the most highly developed branch of this was production of cotton-seed oil which, however, used only part of the seed available, the rest being burnt as fuel or fed to stock; now there are over 200 undertakings, dealing with meat, vegetable oil, milk, butter and cheese, preserved fruits, spirits, wines, fish, milling, tobacco, bakery, confectionery, etc.

IV. Cooperative industry. The tradition of cooperative home industry in the making of, for instance, carpets and pottery is a very ancient one in Uzbekistan; but before the Revolution this could be done only on a small scale, and the means of production were very primitive. Since the Revolution these and other home-industries have received support from the State; the artisans have been grouped in arteli, and these have been the basis of fairly big mechanized industries.

The section on agriculture (pp.195-245) begins with a twenty-four-page general review (with tables, and a diagram of the kompleks of the cotton-industry) of the subject, with particular emphasis on resources of water, and on the amount of land suitable for cultivation, irrigated or not, and the percentages of the total area of land worked by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, etc., and is then subdivided into (a) irrigation (there is a map of the irrigation-network and irrigated land) - the antiquity of irrigation in Uzbekistan (the Uzbek proverb is quoted: "Where the water ends the land ends") - before the Revolution there was only one mechanically-equipped system, that of the Golodnaya Step' - the wastefulness of irrigation by manual methods - at the time of the Civil War and the Basmachi movement the system was neglected and partially destroyed - the restoration (1924-28) was accomplished by the masses of the peasantry (dekhkanstvo) with help from the State - Lyagan Canal

(32km. long) was built in March 1939, in 17 days, and the Great Fergana Canal was begun in the summer of the same year. The account of the building of canals and reservoirs is continued to the end of 1955, and the need explained for the development of irrigation on an even greater scale to keep pace with the sharp rise in all branches of agriculture; (b) cotton-growing: an account is given of the methods and distribution (with a map) of the industry; (c) market-gardening and viticulture; (d) stock-breeding: an account of the different sorts of stock bred in each climatic zone, and the methods of feeding and pasturing them. In the areas of irrigation-agriculture, for instance, there is very little pasture or hay-making: the stock are often sent during the summer to mountain pastures, perhaps 200-300km. away. The fodder chiefly used is lucerne, "the queen of grasses", a nitrogen-collecting plant which for this reason is much used in crop rotation immediately before the planting of cotton. Much use is made also of maize, which in the irrigation areas can be harvested twice in the year. There are some remarks on the breeding of karakul sheep, on the derivation of the word, and on the names for the different colours of karakul fleeces. Cattle also are discussed, and the breeding of horses (a very ancient pursuit in Central Asia), of which the basic breed is said to be the karabayr; (f) silk: an account of the development since the Revolution of an industry from primitive conditions, backed, nevertheless, by generations of experience. Nine pages (pp.245-53) on transport describe the chief roads, and the railways (with the dates when they began to be used); there is a map of these, and tables of the loads of the most important goods carried into and out of Uzbekistan in 1955 (also expressed as percentages of similar loads for 1950). It is interesting that coal, raw petroleum and petroleum products stand at the head of both tables.

Part 3 (pp.254-457) deals individually with the following oblasts: Tashkent (pp.254-86); the oblasts of the Fergana Valley (pp.286-305), one of the most densely populated areas in the Union; Fergana (pp.306-19); Andizhan (pp.319-30); Namangan (pp.330-39); Samarkand (pp.339-60); Bukhara (the biggest in the republic - 126,900 square kilometres) (pp.360-81); Kashka-Dar'ya (pp.381-402); Surkhan-Dar'ya (pp.402-18); Khorezm (pp.418-37); and the Kara-Kalpak ASSR (pp.437-58). These accounts are each based, for the most part, on three sections: economy, industry, and transport, which may be preceded by a larger or shorter section on natural conditions, and followed by one on internal differences and/or towns. A map of each oblast is given.

The account of the "internal differences" of the Tashkent oblast, subdivided here into the Chirchik-Angren Valley, the Golodnaya and Dal'verzinsk steppes, and the highlands of the Akhan-Garan, Bostandyk, and Parkent rayons, is particularly interesting - the description, for instance, (pp.278-80) of what Tashkent was like before the prisoyedineniye of Central Asia, and the changes that occurred when it became the headquarters of the Governor-General of Turkestan, and that have been taking place in Soviet

times - and so, of course, is that of the enormously fertile Fergana Valley, almost entirely surrounded by snow-mountains, parts of which belong also to Tadzhikistan and Kirgizia. The brief account of Karakalpakia (an ASSR since 1932 and a part of Uzbekistan since 1936) is worth reading; situated as it is on the lower reaches of the Amu-Dar'ya and at the meeting-place of the Karakum and Kyzyl-Kum. It is said to be particularly rich in water-fowl. The usual contrast is made between the backward, feudal, pre-Revolutionary Karakalpakia and the present republic with its highly-developed Socialist agriculture, its eighteen MTS, its industry closely linked to its agricultural needs, and its great fish-canning combine at Muynak, on one of the mouths of the Amu-Dar'ya.

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#### New Ashkhabad thermo-electric power-station

The first unit of the Ashkhabad thermo-electric power-station was completed in October and by the 3rd November had already produced its first million kilowatt-hours of electricity. The work was begun in the second half of 1956.

TI. 4th November 1958

N E W S   D I G E S T

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The following items are taken from newspapers and periodicals received during the period 1st October - 31st December 1958.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES

Administrative changes

Kirgizia

N.P. Gordeyev removed from his post of Chairman of the Council of National Economy and appointed First Vice-Chairman of the Council.

V.N. Churkin appointed Chairman of the Council of **National Economy**.  
SK. 27th November 1958.

V.F. Stepkin removed from his post of First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

G.S. Demyanchuk appointed a Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers.  
SK. 8th December 1958.

Turkmenistan

I.A. Dorokhov and K.A. Vasil'yev removed from their posts of Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers.      TI. 4th October 1958.

Territorial Changes

Tadzhikistan

By decree of 30th September 1958:

(1) The village soviets of Shakhristan, Nafaroch, Novobad, Yangi-Kurgan and Kholdar-Kipchak (~~Shakhristan~~ rayon) to be included in the Ura-Tyube rayon.

(2) The village soviets of Ganchi and Yakhtan (Ura-Tyube rayon) to be included in the Shakhristan rayon.

(3) The administrative centre of the Shakhristan rayon to be transferred to the village of Ganchi and the Shakhristan rayon to be renamed the Ganchi rayon.

KT. 1st October 1958



Kirgizia

By decree of 6th October 1958 the Voroshilov rayon, Frunze oblast, has been renamed the Alamedin rayon and its centre, the village of Voroshilovskoye, has been renamed Alamedin. VVS. 23rd October 1958.

By decree of 29th October 1958 the following rayons have been amalgamated:  
Dzhalal-Abad oblast: The Dzhangi-Dzhol and Karavan rayons into a unified Dzhangi-Dzhol rayon with its centre in the village of Karavan.

Issyk-Kul oblast: The Dzhety-Oguz and Pokrovka rayons into a unified Dzhety-Oguz rayon with its centre in the village of Pokrovka.

The Przheval'sk and Novo-Voznesenovka rayons into a single Karakol rayon, with its centre in the village of Teploklyuchenka.

Osh oblast: The Alayskiy and Gul cha rayons into a unified Alayskiy rayon, with its centre in the village of Gul'cha.

The Uzgen and Mirza-Aki rayons into a unified Uzgen rayon with its centre in the town of Uzgen, the Kara-Kochkor rural soviet and the territory of the Komsomol kolkhoz, Kan-Davan rural Soviet, to be transferred from this rayon into the Sovetskiy rayon.

Frunze oblast: The Keminskiy and Bystrovka rayons into a unified Keminskiy rayon with its centre in the settlement of Bystrovka.

The Kirovskoye and Pokrovka rayons into a unified Kirovskoye rayon with its centre in the village of Kirovskoye.

The Talas and Budenny rayons into a unified Talas rayon with its centre in the town of Talas.

By the same decree the following rayons have been dissolved.

Tyan'-Shan oblast: The Kulanak rayon, with the inclusion of its territory in the Ak-Talinskiy and Naryn rayons.

Frunze oblast: The Pervomayskiy, Proletarskiy and Sverdlov rayons in the city of Frunze.

The Petrovka rayon, with the inclusion of its territory in the Stalinskoye and Kalininskoye rayons.

Osh oblast: The Yangi-Naukatskiy rayon, with the inclusion of its territory in the Naukat, Aravan and Uch-Korgon rayons.

VVS. 13th November 1958

Kazakhstan

By decree of 30th September 1958 the following territorial changes have been made:

- (1) The inhabited points Khankul', Bikey and Zhaman-Kara have been transferred from the jurisdiction of the Chulak-Ankatin village soviet to that of the Aldiyarovskiy village soviet, Terektinskiy rayon, West-Kazakhstan oblast.
- (2) The inhabited point Chagan, Novo-Pokrovka rayon, Semipalatinsk oblast, to have the status of workers' settlement.
- (3) The inhabited point Komsomol'skiy to be amalgamated with the workers' settlement of Chagan.
- (4) The Chagan settlement soviet to be placed under the administrative authority of the Semipalatinsk city soviet.
- (5) The inhabited point Borki, Sokolovka rayon, and the inhabited point Doursa in Sovkhoz No. 1, Priishimskiy rayon, North-Kazakhstan oblast, have been placed under the administrative authority of the Petropavlovsk city soviet.
- (6) The workers' settlement Ubaredmet, Predgornoye rayon, East-Kazakhstan oblast has been given the status of rural settlement.
- (7) As a result of the transfer of the inhabited point Ubaredmet into the jurisdiction of the Ubinskiy rural soviet, Predgornoye rayon, the Ubaradmet settlement soviet has been dissolved.

By decree of 10th November 1958 the rayon centre of the Kazalinsk rayon, Kzyl-Orda oblast has been transferred from the town of Kazalinsk to the settlement of Novo-Kazalinsk.

VVS. 27th November 1958.

#### CONFERENCES

CAR Vol. VI, No. 3 (pp.426-9) summarized the advance publicity in Central Asia given to the Conference of African and Asian Writers held in Tashkent in October 1958, and gave details of the agenda. A short resume of the Conference itself is given below.

The Conference was opened by N.A.Mukhitdinov, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, who spoke of the common fight against

colonialism, the leading role to be played in this fight by progressive writers, and affirmed the unity of the USSR with Africa and Asia in this struggle. He also gave the interesting information that during the 40 years of Soviet rule 100,000 works by African and Asian writers had been translated in the USSR, with a total of 50 million copies.

Other speakers from the platform mentioned the spirit of Bandoeng and Cairo and welcomed the delegates to the USSR "where man is the bearer of the real spirit of free creative labour for the benefit of mankind" (N.Tikhonov).

The speeches from the delegates on the first point of the agenda (the development of literature and culture in various countries of Asia and Africa and their role in the struggle for the progress of mankind, national independence, in the struggle against colonialism, for freedom and peace throughout the world) differed in the proportion of their mixture of literary with political but were more or less unanimous on the main themes as set out above.

On the question of the connection of Western culture with that of Africa and Asia opinions were less unanimous. On the one hand Chou Yan (China), treated Western culture and imperialism as one ("a compound of decadence, pornography and barbarism"), while on the other Rasul Gamzatov (USSR, Dagestan) entered a plea for a distinction between the two ("we cannot confuse Drieser with Dulles, Dickens with Montgomery"). Hasan el-Takhir Zaruk (Sudan) said "our task is to select books of Western literature which can be made use of by us and not to allow into our country those books which could harm us. However, not all books written in the West and not all Western films are bad."

The Conference decided that a permanent bureau of the writers of African and Asian countries be set up, consisting of the representatives of Ghana, Indonesia, Camerouns, China, United Arab Republic, USSR, Sudan, Ceylon and Japan (with an Indian member to be appointed by the Literary Academy of India). The centre of the bureau will be Ceylon, with two regional centres in Asia and Africa. The bureau will consider proposals for the setting up of an Afro-Asian publishing house and periodical printed organ, for the establishment of prizes to be awarded for the best Afro-Asian literary work and for the creation of a fund to aid African and Asian writers. The next conference of Afro-Asian writers will be held in Cairo in 1960.

The Conference addressed an appeal to the writers of the world, some passages of which are given below.

"We, the writers of the countries of Africa and Asia, have gathered together... and discussed questions of vital importance for us and for the literature of the whole world... We are united by our conviction that the cause of literature is unbreakably linked with the fates of our peoples, that a genuine flowering of literature can be achieved only in conditions of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of peoples, and that the liquidation

of colonialism and racialism is a necessary condition of the full development of literary creation...

"The further development of these great civilizations of [Asia and Africa] was halted... by the merciless exploitation of our countries, by the slavery which existed in Africa, by colonialism, imperialism and racialism - that most venomous weed in the garden of mankind... These attempts could not, however, destroy our languages and cultures, although they managed to retard and complicate their development...

"We know also that our life is indissolubly linked with the life of our peoples, that their aims are our aims, their battle - our battle, and we will fight together with them against the evils of colonial domination and the threat of atomic war, for peace, unity and friendship between our peoples."

Pravda, Central Asian Press,  
October - December 1958

The Fourth Uzbek Writers' Conference took place in Tashkent in October 1958. In his speech to the Conference Bakhram Rakhmanov, First Secretary of the Uzbek Writers' Union, referred to N.S.Khrushchev's article on the connection between literature and art and the life of the people, and claimed that in the last three to four years the activity of Uzbek writers had increased and the ideological and thematic horizons of Uzbek literature had widened. Rakhmanov stressed the importance of the connection between literature and the Party and described the task of Uzbek writers as "to show in their pages the creation of a new world in the very heart of the East, in the centre of the Asian Continent".

S.K. Kamalov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, in his speech, also stressed the importance of the Party connection. He quoted Khrushchev: "He who wishes to be with the people will always be with the Party; he who stands firmly on Party positions will always be with the people." Kamalov also recapitulated the criticisms made by Rakhmanov in the article quoted above and suggested some contemporary themes; the growth of culture in the countryside, the Uzbek intelligentsia, the komsomol, the spiritual growth of the Uzbek woman, survivals of the past (inertia, egoism, bureaucracy, protocol, the influence of a property-owning ideology).

Kamalov also gives a list of the talents needed by the (ideal) Soviet writer, a list which may have shaken his audience. The talents were: a "perfect" knowledge of "the most advanced theory of our time - Marxism-Leninism", a store of information on the basic achievements of science and engineering, constant study of the great classics of the literature of all peoples, assimilation of folk-lore and constant labour to perfect oneself and one's art.

PV. 15th, 16th October 1958

## DELEGATIONS

A group of representatives of member-countries of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, including representatives of Afghanistan, Burma, India, Nepal and Japan, visited Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenistan. They studied the development of industry, agriculture and culture in the three republics.

TI. 3rd October;  
KT. 7th October 1958

A group of educationalists from Vietnam arrived in Tadzhikistan on the 21st October. The delegation, which was headed by Nguyen Van Guyen, Vietnamese Minister of Culture, studied schools and other children's institutions and the position of higher education and the training of science teachers in the republic.

KT. 22nd October 1958

A delegation of agricultural workers from the Chinese People's Republic visited Uzbekistan. After a visit to the Samarkand superphosphate mill they presented the workers with a portrait of Mao Tse-tung embroidered on silk.

PV. 23rd October 1958

A delegation of Iraqi Muslim clergy, which had been visiting Central Asia at the invitation of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia, left Baku for Moscow on the 2nd December. During their visit they had met Muslim religious leaders.

BR. 3rd December 1958

## FESTIVALS OF ART AND LITERATURE

Moscow has been holding a series of ten day festivals of the art and literature of the Central Asian republics.

The Kirgiz festival was held in October 1958; it was the second such festival, the first having been held in 1939. The aim was to show the advances made in Kirgizia in the fields of art and literature since the Revolution, when the Kirgiz people had no written language.

The Kirgiz State Theatre of Opera and Ballet performed V. Vlasov's opera TOKTOGUL, based on the life of the famous bard Toktogul Satylganov, an opera by Chaykovskiy, ballets by V. Vlasov and V. Fere, and M. Raukhverger. Plays by T. Abdumomunov, K. Dzhanatoshev, R. Shukurbekov and E. Eshmambetov, among others were performed, and performances given of Kirgiz folk-music, symphonic music and national sports and games. Kirgiz prose was discussed in the Writers' Union of the USSR, and an exhibition illustrated the growth of Kirgiz book production from 1925 when three books were published, to 1957 when the

number of books published reached 800.

SK. 14th-26th December 1958

The second Kazakh festival of art and literature opened in Moscow on the 12th December, 22 years after the first. The Kazakh Academy of Drama showed plays by the Kazakh authors G. Musrepov, M. Auezov, S. Mukhanov and A. Tzhibayev. A Kazakh orchestra, the Kazakh Choir, and State Song and Dance Ensemble also appeared. Native operas and ballets, including the ballet BAKCHISARAYSKIY FONTAN by B. Asaf'yev, were also shown. The Alma-Ata film studio showed films and documentaries; and there was a display of 550 paintings, sculptures and drawings by Kazakh artists.

The tremendous growth in publishing was demonstrated in the book section: between 1862 and 1917 only 270 books were published in Kazakh; now the four Kazakh printing houses issue annually hundreds of titles in editions totalling millions of copies. The level of literacy has been raised from two to 100 per cent. The Academy of Sciences contains 40 scientific institutions, employing more than 3,000 scientists and technicians. There are in the republic at present 19 theatres, 11 concert organizations and dozens of special musical institutions.

KP. 22nd July; I. 7th December;  
P. 11th December 1958

#### LITERATURE

IZVESTIYA AN/UZB. SSR, ser. OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK, 1958, No. 4, pp.57-79 contains a bibliographical index of works appearing in 1957 on the archaeology, history, ethnography, philosophy and law of Uzbekistan. The list must also contain works which deal only in part with Uzbekistan, since it contains Bekmakhanov's PRISOYEDINENIYE KAZAKHSTANA K ROSSII (analysed in CAR, Vol. VI, No. 4) for example. There appears, however, to be no doubt that the vast majority of the entries deal mainly or exclusively with Uzbekistan.

When one takes into account the fact that the bibliography refers only to one of the Central Asian republics it becomes an impressive witness of the volume of Soviet research on the area. The list contains 598 items, of which approximately 100 are books and pamphlets, the rest articles. The list of sources contains 38 names of periodicals, of which only 11 were published outside Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Of the books and pamphlets, 10 were published in Moscow, 2 in Leningrad and 10 in Central Asian republics other than Uzbekistan.

From an analysis of pages taken at random it appears that the subject most often treated is History, with approximately equal attention being paid to the Soviet and pre-Soviet eras. The term "history", however, has to be understood fairly widely, as it includes such subjects as the history

of irrigation in Central Asia.

In spite of the fact that some of the articles listed refer only partly to Uzbekistan, this bibliography shows the extent of Soviet research on Uzbekistan (and, by implication, on the other republics of Central Asia, including Kazakhstan), and demonstrates also that by far the greater part of that research is being carried out in Central Asia itself.

An article published in PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', 1958, No. 19, exposed certain irregularities in the work of the editorial office of the Kirgiz vernacular newspaper KIRGIZISTON KHAKIKATI.

It appears that the editor Gulyamov, his deputy Gafurov and the secretary Khamidov, had been in the habit of paying fees for material for which normally no fees have to be paid, such as Tass reports, articles and letters from central newspapers and periodicals, "translations" of statistical tables and weather forecasts and for articles published over the signatures of kolkhoz workers and Party officials. These "fees" were paid to workers in the editorial office, Gulyamov himself receiving 45,000 rubles in the first three months of 1958 (although the paper appears only three times a week), and he and his two assistants receiving in 1957, 17 per cent of all the money paid in fees by the paper.

Occasionally, in order to divert suspicion, the fees were registered in the name of a relative or nominee of the actual recipient. In some cases also fees were paid to people who were hardly in a position to write for the paper, such as the daughter of the office messenger. To ensure that as much money as possible should be available for such fraudulent distribution, "the aktiv of writers and local correspondents was excluded from the pages of the paper".

Gulyamov has been dismissed, Khamidov, Gafurov and others have been punished, and the money illegally received is to be paid back to the editorial office.

The article ends with the hope that this will "serve as a serious warning to people who are inclined to confuse government money with their own".

A new periodical in Russian and Tadzhik, NARODNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO TADZHIKISTANA (National Economy of Tadzhikistan), is to start publication in 1959. The periodical will deal with questions of management and planning as applicable to the various branches of the economy and will appear six times a year.

KT. 26th October 1958

The publication has been announced in Alma-Ata of a new children's magazine in Kazakh, BALDYRGAN. The magazine comes out monthly, and is intended for children of pre-school ages and for school-children in the junior forms.

KP. 19th October 1958

## HOUSING

The peoples of the Soviet Union are being urged to supplement the efforts of the State by building their own houses. This is not regarded as any proof that the State is not doing its duty by its citizens. Rather it is considered that the fact that they can afford to build their own houses indicates how high is the standard of living assured by the State. Especially is this the case among kolkhoz workers.

In 1958 in the Chuysk rayon of Kirgizia in the Kirov kolkhoz over 10 families moved into new homes and more than 20 members were building their own homes. In an unspecified number of other kolkhozes almost 150 families moved into new homes and as many more were to move in by the New Year.

In the Kyzyl-Shark kolkhoz, Kara-Suysk rayon, Kirgizia, in the summer of 1958 alone 30 families built homes with the help of the kolkhoz.

In the Kirovskoye rayon of Kirgizia in the past two years more than 300 houses have been built in this way.

SK. 5th, 6th, & 22nd November 1958

During the past four years about 200,000 houses have been built in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of Kazakhstan. In the period 1959-65 more than 250,000 new houses will be built in the kolkhozes. This means that every day 200 families will move into new quarters.

In many kolkhozes and sovkhoses the installation of running water is being planned.

I. 7th December 1958

Within recent years a new town, the miners' settlement of Inder, has grown up in the steppes of Kazakhstan, in the Gur'yev oblast.

At first the miners lived in dug-outs and mud barracks but now the settlement has "broad streets lined with handsome blocks of flats". All the flats are supplied with electricity and a radio; there are a club, library, shops, canteens, schools and a hospital.

The miners complain, however, that there is a shortage of chairs and crockery in the canteens and that the quality of construction of the new



blocks of flats is poor: "The builders had hardly taken the scaffolding down from houses Nos. 14 and 16 when we sent repair men there".

KP. 1st November 1958

## COMMUNICATIONS

### Aviation

In preparation for the reception of modern high-performance aeroplanes in general, and of the TU-104A in particular, a new runway has been built on the Alma-Ata airport. Its construction was complicated by marshy ground and rainy weather and the fact that a river had to be enclosed in a ferro-concrete tube. In spite of all this the runway was finished in a third of the time planned.

The TU-104A arrived on its first passenger flight on the route Moscow - Alma-Ata on the 9th of October and left on the 10th, covering the round trip of 7,000 km. in a flying time of nine hours. From the 15th October flights along this route will take place three times a week.

KP. 12th October 1958

### Telecommunications

During the Seven-Year Plan great increases are envisaged in the communications, radio and television services of Azerbaydzhan. The network of inter-city cables will be doubled and radio-relay communications increased about six times. The number of television transmitters will increase by 2.6 times, and radio and telephone services will be extended to the country villages.

Trunk calls between towns are to be made automatic. New automatic exchanges are to be built not only in cities and rayon centres but in sovkhoses and kolkhozes. By 1960 all kolkhozes in the republic will be served by telephone.

At present in the republic there are 168,000 radio receivers and 262,000 radio relay stations (radiotranslyatsionnyye tochki). By 1965 the number of receivers will increase to 400,000, and of relay stations to 393,000. There will be an exceptional increase in ultra-short-wave transmission.

Television services reach 400 - 500,000 people at present. A large television centre and several relay stations exist. By 1965 several new transmitters and 40-50 relay stations will be built which will serve all the densely inhabited regions of Azerbaydzhan.

BR. 18th December 1958

### Party Changes

It was announced in TI, 16th December 1958, that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, S. Babayev, and Secretary of the Central Committee, N. Durdyeva, had been relieved of their posts by the Plenum of the Central Committee for "serious mistakes committed in their work".

An indication of the kind of mistake meant was given in TI of the 21st January 1959, where Sh. Tashliyev, Director of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences, in a speech before the XVth Congress of the Turkmen Communist Party said that Babayev and Durdyeva had been guilty of "incorrect treatment of the intelligentsia ... (for example) administration by injunction (administrirovaniye) and intimidation... In such circumstances the creative abilities of the cadres of the intelligentsia could not fully develop".

Durdyeva was last mentioned in CAR in Vol. III, pp. 155-6: in a speech before the Turkmen Writers' Congress she criticized Turkmen writers for avoiding in their works the themes of survivals of the past and the role of the Russian worker in the founding of Turkmenistan.

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### First Turkmen architect

In the present academic year the first Turkmen ever to study to become an architect, Amangel'dy Esenov, will defend his thesis in the Moscow Architectural Institute. His thesis is a plan for the building up of the south-eastern region of Ashkhabad. The plan, which covers an area of 800 hectares, contains several self-contained centres, a park of culture and rest, clubs, cinemas and a stadium.

TI. 19th September 1958

## BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

## THE ECONOMY OF PAKISTAN

The following is an abridged translation of an article entitled "Imperialist Contradictions in Pakistan" by S.A.Kuz'min, which appeared in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDIYE (1958, No. 3). It provides an interesting example of the general Soviet attitude and approach to the study of the Pakistani economy, and to the sort of briefing given to economic specialists visiting that country or studying its problems in Soviet institutions. It should assist Pakistan's economists to understand the real nature of the Soviet approach to her difficulties.

. . . .

Situated at the meeting-place of the Middle East countries and those of South-East Asia, close to the frontiers of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, Pakistan occupies an important position in the foreign policy of the USA. The interest of the American monopolies is also drawn to the mineral and raw material resources of Pakistan. American penetration into Pakistan evokes, however, the bitter opposition of British monopolies. The struggle which has started for political and economic influence in Pakistan is in the main a struggle between the two chief capitalist countries - Britain and the USA.

Pakistan was established in 1947 as a result of the partition of British India. Pakistan at that time had scarcely any industries of her own; in the regions which went to make up West Pakistan only a few branches of the extractive industry - oil, coal and chrome - were developed in the colonial period. All oil extraction and processing was the monopoly of the British Attock Oil Company, coal-mining of the Powell-Dufferin Company, and chrome-mining of the British company Baluchistan Chrome Mines Limited. Only a few small collieries and chrome mines were in the hands of national capital, and their products were entirely bought up by British companies. (1)

British capital and, to a certain extent, the Indian capital tied to it at that period (1947), dominated in the sphere of currency circulation. In the first phase after partition Pakistan did not even possess her own bank of issue, and all questions connected with the circulation of money in the

country came under the control of the Reserve Bank of India.

The Pakistan State Bank was not founded until a year after the partition. The total number of commercial banks listed (2) in 1948 amounted to 38.(3) The majority of them were Indian banks or the subsidiaries of great British banks - Lloyd's, Grindlay's, The National Bank of India, The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China. A similar state of affairs could be observed in insurance. In 1948 there were 76 registered insurance companies, of which eight were Pakistani, 38 British and 19 Indian.(4)

The country's external trade was almost entirely the monopoly of big British firms. Pakistani firms active at this time in the sphere of external trade, in fact fulfilled intermediate functions between the Pakistani commodity producers and the British trade monopolies. By this means the British monopolies held the key positions in the Pakistani economy.

At the present time the position occupied by the British monopolies in Pakistan's economy have somewhat weakened. In the field of industry, on the whole the place occupied by British capital investments has fallen as a result of the growth of a series of enterprises, and branches of industry, such as cement, jute and others, have grown up in which there is practically no British capital. The British monopolies have maintained their control over mining, although here too they have been obliged to make room for national capital. The Petroleum Development of Pakistan Company Limited was founded entirely with Pakistan national capital (5) and is made up of a number of amalgamated British-Pakistani oil companies. Chrome mining is likewise conducted by the amalgamated British-Pakistani company, Pakistan Chrome Mines.(6) But at present national capital still constitutes no threat to the domination of British monopolies in the mining industry. A far greater danger for them lies in the competition of the American oil companies who have secured for themselves some advantageous concessions.

National capital has most noticeably exerted pressure on British capital in the field of credit and insurance. The country's own national banks have grown up and are playing a big role in the economy of Pakistan - The Pakistan State Bank and the private commercial banks such as the Habib Bank, Muslim Bank and others.

[Here the author gives statistics to show the increasing share in the economic life of the country held by these banks (7). - Ed.]

The chief cause of a certain degree of pressure exerted on British monopolies in Pakistan have been firstly the growth of a national bourgeoisie, and secondly the economic penetration of other imperialist powers and in particular the Anglo-American competitive struggle. The growth of Pakistan's national bourgeoisie has influenced the policy of the Pakistan Government. While encouraging foreign capital investments the

Government of Pakistan in the years 1949-51 passed laws which revoked the special privileges of British investors.

[There follows a US Government comment in 1954 on the changed situation.]  
 [(8) - Ed.]

Besides this the Pakistan Government has cancelled the "special privileges which British investors enjoyed with regard to mining enterprises." (9) This has undeniably had the effect of limiting British capital's chances of competing. It is perfectly obvious that the policy of Pakistan towards British capital has to a large extent been influenced by American military and economic "aid".

Having set themselves the task of actively penetrating and subordinating Pakistan to the strategic plans of the USA in the Near and Middle East, the American monopolies naturally could not limit themselves to capital investments. Apart from that, they met with serious obstacles in the shape of the dominance of British monopolies in the field of private foreign investment and Pakistan's adherence to the sterling area. The USA first of all achieved the political dependence of Pakistan on American imperialism. Precisely for this reason the chief instrument of American penetration into Pakistan has been the programme of so-called "aid". American "aid" also serves the USA as the basic means for ousting Britain from the Pakistan market.

At the end of 1953 and the beginning of 1954, after the signing of the Mutual Security Treaty between the USA and Pakistan, active United States penetration into the country was begun by the allocation of military and economic "aid". By the end of 1956 United States allocations for the economic development of Pakistan amounted, together with aid in foodstuffs, to \$464m. or about 69 per cent of all foreign aid received by that country. (10) In the Pakistan Government's economic plans emphasis is laid at present on so-called American "aid". (11) Britain's importance as a foreign creditor must decline as long as she is unable, by reason of her economic situation, to give such wide credit as the USA to the underdeveloped countries. Since its plans for economic and foreign policy depend largely on American "aid", the Pakistan Government is turning in fundamental matters towards the USA.

By making use of economic "aid" as a means of exerting pressure on Pakistan the American monopolies have secured favourable conditions for their activities there. According to the agreement of 26th May 1955 between the Governments of the USA and Pakistan, American private investment approved by the Government of Pakistan is guaranteed by both Governments. American depositors are guaranteed full protection against loss resulting from nationalization and the conversion of their capital into dollars. (12)

A series of other agreements is also directed to the encouragement of American capital in Pakistan. Availing themselves of these the American oil companies have in the last few years been stepping up their activities in the

country.

[Here the author lists some agreements made 1954-1957.(13) - Ed.]

The conditions of the agreements are extremely profitable to the American monopolies. 75 per cent of all expenditure on oil prospecting is borne by the oil company and 25 per cent by the Pakistan Government. In the event of the company's starting the industrial extraction of oil a quarter of the whole output belongs to the Government.(14) The agreement with the Standard Vacuum Oil Company stipulates also that the Company may buy from the Government the latter's share of the oil output.(15)

The USA, striving to secure yet more advantageous terms for her capital investment, has been attempting over a number of years to foist on to Pakistan the so-called "Treaty of Friendship, Trade and Shipping", which would mean that the American monopolies with capital invested in Pakistan would enjoy the same privileges and Government protection as the national companies in their financial and industrial activities. Criticizing the slavery inherent in such an agreement, which threatens the nation's industry with complete suffocation, the newspaper PAKISTAN TIMES (21.1.57) notes that the treaty would be a powerful weapon for the USA in the competitive struggle against Britain and other countries, on which the terms of the treaty do not expatiate. "The treaty", writes the newspaper, "constitutes a threat not only to Pakistan's interests but also to such countries as Britain, which has industrial and commercial interests in Pakistan". The draft of the "Treaty of Friendship, Trade and Shipping" met with sharp opposition from the press and business circles in the country, as a result of which its ratification was postponed indefinitely.

American "aid" to Pakistan has undeniably strengthened to a significant extent the political and economic position of the USA in this country. It would, however, be incorrect to suppose that the American monopolies have succeeded in edging out their British rivals. The positions held by British imperialism in Pakistan are still very strong. An important weapon for Britain in her competitive struggle against the USA is, as usual, the use of the sterling balances and imperial preferences. At the present time a number of industrial undertakings in Pakistan depend entirely on Britain for the supply of spare parts and equipment. British standards are still widely used in industry. "The British still dominate the markets of their one-time colonies largely because those countries use British equipment and the conversion to another kind is expensive", notes the Pakistani newspaper ECONOMIC OBSERVER (August 1957, p. 17).

Britain also uses other means in order to maintain her position in Pakistan, such as the allocation of credits to Pakistan, following the line laid down in inter-governmental agreements, aid under the Colombo Plan, and so on. Thus in 1953 the British Government lent Pakistan

£10m. for the purchase in Britain of a quantity of industrial goods and of equipment for various agricultural development projects in Pakistan. (16) This loan is particularly advantageous to the British as the money has to be spent in Great Britain.

The Colombo Plan was begun in 1951 and was designed to last six years. Great Britain, Australia, Canada and New Zealand all take part. Up to September 1956 Pakistan had been allocated \$90.9m. (17) Out of this sum Pakistan had spent \$43,700,000. The terms for supplying "aid" and the mechanism of mutual accounts of the countries giving and receiving the aid are as follows: When quotas of "aid" are supplied, counterpart funds are set up in rupees, equal in value to the foodstuffs and industrial goods supplied. The money held in these funds is spent on various "development projects" on the strict understanding that the government of the country supplying the "aid" is in agreement. The Pakistan Government cannot dispose of the money allocated at its own discretion.

The need to open a rupee account on each quota of "aid" supplied from budgetary funds, which the Government of Pakistan is not always in a position to do, and to "come to an agreement" with the government of the country giving the "aid" means that Pakistan is less able to make use of the money she receives. This partly explains why, out of \$202m. of "foreign aid" allocated up to the end of 1956, Pakistan was able to spend only about \$90m. (18) The PAKISTAN TIMES (4.12.56) noted that "American aid is given for objectives for which there are special agreements, but in those cases where Pakistan, lacking resources of her own, is unable to finance some project or other, American aid is not utilized. According to the terms of the agreement, this aid may not be utilized for the construction of other projects where it is needed".

The terms of "aid" under the Colombo Plan, like the terms of American "aid", facilitate putting pressure on the Government of Pakistan by means of supplying or refusing funds for a specific project. Certain restrictions on the freedom of the countries participating in the Colombo Plan to choose between projects are to be found in the original agreements on the principles of cooperation between the Government of Pakistan and those countries. Thus, in the joint "announcement on the principles of cooperation" the Governments of Pakistan and Canada point out that the conclusion of the agreement on subsidies for any concrete project must take into account "the commercial character of the project mentioned from the point of view of its profitability and its role in the saving of foreign currency for Pakistan". (19) This condition restricts the use of "aid" for the carrying out of projects vitally necessary to Pakistan, but which, over the course of a definite, perhaps prolonged period, yield little profit. All agreements on "aid" provide that the Government of Pakistan shall supply the respective countries with detailed information on how the money received was used, the execution of projects, and so on. It should be mentioned that the conditions for Pakistan's use of the aid given under the Colombo Plan are sometimes less

burdensome than the conditions of American aid, this doubtless for reasons of competition. (20)

The provision of aid under the Colombo Plan is on the whole analogous to the provision of American aid. The main objectives of foreign aid are agriculture, sources of energy and communications, while a definite part of the money is set aside for the training of Pakistani technical cadres. (21) The amounts to be allocated for a number of the more important projects are determined first of all by their military and strategic significance. As the Pakistan journal ECONOMIC OBSERVER (August 1957, p.17) states: "A significant part of the aid, which is taken as economic aid, plays a vitally important role in the defence arrangements of the USA and, indeed, the whole programme of foreign aid up to the present time has been in the main military". It is in this light that we must regard the construction of aerodromes, roads and railways, the equipment of ports and so on. Allocations under the foreign aid programme are also aimed at creating conditions for the exploitation of the country as a market, a source of strategic materials and a sphere for capital investment. Amongst the principal factors at the present time hindering the imperialist exploitation of Pakistan the American guide-book to overseas investors mentions: the limited reserves of useful minerals already prospected for, the lack of transport, of electricity and of skilled labour. (22)

The imperialist struggle between Britain and the USA in Pakistan manifests itself chiefly in the struggle for influence on the economic life of the country and its plans for economic development, for control of its raw material and mineral resources.

At the present time, however, American "aid" surpasses "aid" under the Colombo Plan. For this reason Britain, even with the help of those countries which have entered the British Commonwealth, can only with great difficulty maintain her position in Pakistan.

The competitive struggle between Britain and the USA has even been carried into the Colombo Plan. The USA is striving to seize control over the use of money supplied under the Colombo Plan and to subordinate building operations financed partially at the expense of Colombo Plan aid to the overall military, strategic and economic plans of the USA with regard to Pakistan. One of the methods used to this end by the United States is by taking part in multilateral agreements on the implementation of those particular projects which are more important for imperialist purposes. Thus she is sharing in the construction of a series of irrigation and power installations and in the reconstruction of the country's railway transport. Indeed, the USA strives to penetrate even into those projects which are being carried out by the Government of Pakistan and the Colombo Plan countries. By investing from time to time, even very limited amounts of money, the American monopolies are



able to influence the tempo and the direction of construction. In this way the USA supplied \$250 000 worth of equipment for the construction of the hydroelectric station at Varsak, although the original agreement stated that the construction in Varsak was to be financed by Canada and Australia. Moreover, the USA pledged itself to finance the work on enlarging the productive capacity of cement factories and other projects. The results of American participation in the carrying out of these projects were not long in manifesting themselves. "The fulfilling of some important projects... the construction of fertilizer factories, of extensions to the cement factories Zil-Pak and Maple Leaf (factories financed under the Colombo Plan. - S.K.), of cardboard factories, of a steel-rolling mill in East Pakistan... and of others - has been indefinitely postponed," stated the PAKISTAN TIMES (17.1.57) in 1957. "It is considered that the fate of further industrialization depends in many respects on the results of negotiations being conducted by the Minister of Finance, Sayed Amjad Ali in America..." In other words, the fate of these projects has fallen into the hands of the American monopolies. In this way the Colombo Plan has, in a number of cases, helped the USA to extend her economic and political influence in Pakistan.

By making use of the contradictions between Britain and the USA, the monopolies of other highly developed capitalist states, such as Western Germany, Japan, France, Italy and others, are attempting to penetrate Pakistan's economy. Thus Western German capital is showing an interest in machine construction, chemicals and metallurgy. (23) In Pakistan in 1953 the amalgamated company BEKO-KSB was founded, with the participation of the Pakistani Batala Engineering Company and the Western German firm of KSB. (24) The Western German firm of Krupp-Demag is engaged in prospecting for iron ore deposits in Baluchistan. (25) These investigations are connected with the project for the construction of a metallurgical factory in Multan in accordance with the agreement concluded between the Government of Pakistan and the firm of Krupp. This project was indefinitely postponed under pressure from the USA, which had come to the defence of its monopolies engaged in the export of steel. (26)

The Western German industrialists are endeavouring to secure large orders for the manufacture of equipment for a number of industrial projects in Pakistan. These efforts are accompanied by a fierce competitive struggle between United States monopolies and those of Western European countries.

Japanese capital is attempting to penetrate the field of light industry in Pakistan, in particular the cotton industry (27), where it does not meet competition from British and American capital. Japanese companies have supplied the most modern equipment for many textile undertakings in Pakistan.

The construction in Pakistan of artificial fertilizer factories has awakened the interest of a number of foreign monopolies. The receipt of orders for the construction of these undertakings is accompanied by the intensified rivalry of foreign monopolies. Thus, in November 1956, in connection with

the Pakistan Government's announcement of its intention to build in the country two factories for the manufacture of chemical fertilizers, several Japanese, French, Italian and American chemical companies sent their representatives to Pakistan with the object of studying the possibilities of constructing these factories. At the end of 1957 French and Japanese companies obtained the orders to build these two factories.

The competitive struggle of the imperialist powers in Pakistan sometimes obliges these powers to relax the conditions of their "aid" to Pakistan and also to finance projects which promote the industrial development of the country.

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When the imperialist powers strengthen their positions in a country, and especially when the USA does so, the economic and political life of the country come under the threat of dictation and control by foreign monopolies. Such a situation has arisen now in Pakistan. Rejection of a neutral policy and the support of the USA's aggressive plans in the Near and Middle East have made the country not only politically but also economically dependent on American imperialism. Economic construction in Pakistan, depending heavily on the military and strategic plans of the USA and a budgetary allocation for military purposes far in excess of the nation's resources - these are the chief results of American "aid" to Pakistan. (28) "Cooperation" with other imperialist powers is likewise not conducive to a solution of Pakistan's fundamental economic problems.

Only equitable and mutually beneficial trade can help Pakistan to emerge from her severe economic difficulties. In this connection certain circles of Pakistan's national bourgeoisie are calling on the Government not to distinguish between the countries of the Socialist camp and the Western powers. "We must try", writes the journal KARACHI COMMERCE, "not to allow political considerations to limit our choice from amongst those countries which would help us to become economically stronger. We ought not to discriminate between East and West, North and South so long as it is a matter of supplying us with capital goods and machinery. We can trade with the USSR just as we can with the USA and with Czechoslovakia just as with Great Britain." (29) Up to now the ruling circles of Pakistan have not established broad economic contacts with the countries of the socialist camp, although a series of trade agreements has been concluded. The share of the USSR, the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and China in the external trade of Pakistan amounted in 1956 to 5.9 per cent of imports and 3.1 per cent of exports, and in the first nine months of 1957 to 5.3 per cent and 2.6 per cent respectively.

However, the deterioration of Pakistan's external trade and the reduced possibilities of exporting her basic commercial crops - cotton and jute - have brought more sharply to the notice of the ruling circles the

question of rejecting one-sided trade with the imperialist countries, and of broadening her economic and external trade with the world socialist market. This is urgently required by Pakistan's developing economy and for the strengthening of her political and economic independence. Aid without political conditions, and mutually beneficial trade without discrimination is the basis for the new type of international relations now being established between the socialist countries and the underdeveloped countries.

### Notes

- (1) THE ECONOMY OF PAKISTAN. Mushtaq Ahmad, Karachi, 1950, p.8.  
INDUSTRY IN PAKISTAN. August 1951, pp.12-13.
- (2) "Listed banks" in Pakistan are banks with not less than Rs.500,000 paid capital.
- (3) PAKISTAN: ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL CONDITIONS, MAY 1950. W. Godfrey. London, 1951, p.8.
- (4) Ibid., p.134.
- (5) PAKISTAN TRADE. June 1956, p.67.
- (6) Ibid., September 1956, p.3.
- (7) EKONOMIKA PAKISTANA. S.M. Akhtar. M., 1957, p.275; STATE BANK OF PAKISTAN BULLETIN, September 1957, pp.58-59; THE PAKISTAN TIMES, 13th August 1956.
- (8) INVESTMENT IN PAKISTAN: CONDITIONS AND OUTLOOK FOR U. S. INVESTORS. Department of Commerce, Washington, 1954, p.44.
- (9) INVESTMENT IN PAKISTAN, see (8) above, p.53.
- (10) PAKISTAN TRADE. January 1957, pp.78-79.
- (11) According to the original Five-Year Plan for Pakistan's economic development, which was inaugurated in 1956, the sum total of foreign allocations should amount to Rs.4,200m., or over 36 per cent of all capital investments in the plan (Rs.3,800m. as allocations on the "aid" account and Rs.400m. as private foreign investment). It is assumed that a large part of this money will be received from the USA (PAKISTAN TRADE, June 1956, pp.1-4; PAKISTAN 1955-56, Pakistan Publications, Karachi, 1956, p.80).
- (12) GUARANTY OF PRIVATE INVESTMENTS: AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND PAKISTAN SIGNED AT WASHINGTON. 26th May 1955. Treaties

and other international acts series, 3269; see also ECONOMIC OBSERVER, February 1957, p.5.

- (13) PAKISTAN TRADE, November 1954, pp.11-12, April 1956, p.25, September 1956, p.4; PAKISTAN STANDARD, 11th February 1955; IMROZ, 22nd and 29th December 1956.
- (14) PAKISTAN TRADE, November 1954, pp.11-12, April 1956, p.25; IMROZ, 22nd December 1956.
- (15) PAKISTAN TRADE, November 1954, p.12.
- (16) Ibid., February 1956, p.21.
- (17) Except for the above-mentioned loan by Britain to Pakistan to the amount of £28m. (£10,000,000). FOREIGN AID AND ITS UTILIZATION IN PAKISTAN. Ministry of Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, 1956, pp.6,9; PAKISTAN TRADE, January 1957, pp.78-79.
- (18) PAKISTAN TRADE, January 1957, pp.78-79.
- (19) FOREIGN AID AND ITS UTILIZATION IN PAKISTAN. (See (17) above), p.89.
- (20) Ibid., p.16.
- (21) Ibid., Appendix II, pp.102-43.
- (22) INVESTMENT IN PAKISTAN. (See (8) above), p.2.
- (23) Ibid., p.44.
- (24) THE PAKISTAN TIMES, 6th August 1956.
- (25) Ibid., 24th November 1956.
- (26) IMROZ, 26th August 1956; DAWN, 15th July 1957; THE PAKISTAN TIMES, 1st February 1957.
- (27) INVESTMENT IN PAKISTAN. (See (8) above), p.44.
- (28) As the American newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 17th August 1957 notes, allocations for military purposes connected with Pakistan's participation in the war blocs SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, "every year swallows up no less than 69 per cent of the Pakistan budget".
- (29) KARACHI COMMERCE. (weekly), April 1956; see also THE PAKISTAN TIMES, 20th September 1957.

THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT  
IN PERSIA

The following is an abridged translation of an article by M. Yaukacheva, "The Problem of the Emancipation of the Persian Woman in Contemporary Persian Prose", which appeared in KRATKIYE SOOBSHCHENIYA INSTITUTE VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, 1958, No. XXVII, pp. 42-49. In this article the author displays considerable knowledge of her subject, although her estimate of the strength and importance of women's movements is probably exaggerated. These movements have always been upper-class in composition and have never had much vogue among the peasant and working classes.

Women have always exercised great influence on Persian politics and society, although in the latter field the influence has mostly been conservative. It is sometimes argued that since women were - more or less compulsorily - "emancipated", that is to say abandoned the veil to a large extent, their influence on public affairs has grown less: they have lost their atmosphere of mystery; but they have not been able to take any active part in public life, nor is it certain that they are at all anxious to do so.

The article is exceptional in the sense that it pays close attention to contemporary Persian literature, which is usually ignored by Western writers. The quality of this literature is very variable and the writers singled out for Soviet praise are not necessarily the most popular in Persia. One of the most popular writers, Jamalzadeh, is not mentioned at all while most of the praise is reserved for Sadeq Hedayat.

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I. Birth of the Feminist Movement - II. The  
Influence of Literature on the Emancipation of Women.

I. Birth of the Feminist Movement

The author begins her study of the status of women in Persia at the period of the "bourgeois revolution" of 1905-11. It was at this time, she maintains, that the question of the status of women began to appear as an

acute social problem. In its earlier stages it was "tied up with the growth of bourgeois attitudes and of the national liberation movement".

Yaukacheva also attributes to this period the "first manifestations of a political consciousness amongst Persian women". She gives the three examples which follow:

"In Tehran on the 20th January 1907 there was... a women's meeting at which ten resolutions were adopted. They included the building of schools for girls, the abolition of onerous dowries, and so on." (1)

For her second example she quotes from a later writer: "'Of course, the role of the Persian woman in the 1906-9 revolution was not very noticeable or considerable. Some of them did, none the less, play an active part in it and many a time took up arms in the defence of freedom. Persian women in particular distinguished themselves at the time of the heroic defence of revolutionary Tabriz against the forces of the Shah. A special women's battalion was even formed there, and fought side by side with men. Individual women in the revolutionary forces, disguised in men's clothing, fought frequently in battles and skirmishes. According to witnesses, they showed exceptional courage and devotion to duty.'" (2)

"The American advisor Shuster reported the existence in Tehran at that time of a secret women's organization and of women's clubs." (3)

#### Women and the Press (1905-11)

Yaukacheva then goes on to mention the Press:

"To that same period belongs the rapid growth of the revolutionary press, which played a big role in awakening the conscience of the Persian woman. It was this selfsame press which was the first to speak up about the need to liberate the Persian woman and draw her into the social life of the country. In this connection a very active newspaper was SUR ISRAFIL (The Trumpet of Israfil), which in its policy and subject-matter recalled the Azerbaydzhani satirical journal MOLLA NASRODDIN. The pages of SUR ISRAFIL were the first to carry a serious discussion of the question of women's rights. There were harsh exposures and the fiercest criticism of forced and early marriages, of despotic parents and husbands, of the veil, polygamy, the clergy, and so on". (4) Another newspaper of the period mentioned as having similar views on these questions is NASIM-E-SHEMAL (Northern Breeze), published by the poet Sa'ed Ashraf Gilani in Rasht.

Yaukacheva particularly stresses the influence of progressive Azerbaydzhani literature on "the development of advanced thought and literature in Persia at the period of the 1905-11 revolution". The journal MOLLA NASRODDIN is singled out as one in which "the question of the

status of women was allotted a position of primary importance".

### The feminist movement up to the nineteen-twenties

"After the proclamation of the constitution", Yaukacheva writes, "the feminist movement took on a more organized character. A national women's club was founded in Tehran which a considerable number of women joined, admittedly from the privileged classes. At club meetings various topical questions of current politics would be discussed, and patriotic resolutions would be passed protesting against the interference of foreign powers in the affairs of Persia, and so on." (5)

The author states that many women's newspapers and magazines started publication during this period, beginning with the newspaper DANESH (Knowledge) in 1910, which had a woman editor. (6) In 1919 a women's weekly magazine, ZABAN-E-ZANAN (The Voice of Women), was started in Isfahan, being edited and published by Sadiqah Dowlatabadi, the sister of Yahya Dowlatabadi, the writer. This was followed in 1920 by the Tehran newspaper NAMEH-YE-BANUVAN-E-IRAN (The Persian Women's Newspaper), and by the magazine published by the American girls' school, ALAM-E-NESVAN (The Woman's World).

"These publications", Yaukacheva comments, "were mostly concerned with questions of women's education, children's upbringing, and hygiene. They carried articles and advice on the subjects of housekeeping, cookery, and so on. Questions such as the liberation of the Persian woman, the abolition of the veil and of the harem were still far from being topics of open and broad discussion." (7)

### The Women's Patriotic League

The writer then makes mention of the Women's Patriotic League, founded in Tehran during the nineteen-twenties. "At the head of this organisation was Mehr Banu, a pupil of the above-mentioned American girls' school", where "only women from the privileged classes could receive an education". Yaukacheva quotes Mehr Banu's description of the League's activities: "'We devote all our attention to popularizing women's education. Only when the necessary cadres of educated women have been brought into being will it be possible to think of taking further, more energetic steps. I am not thinking of such things as the abolition of the veil, and so on'." (8) Thus", Yaukacheva notes, "the programme of the League never included criticism of the Koran or attacks on the veil, and still less did it encourage the struggle for the complete liberation of the Persian woman."

### Influence of the revolutionary movement

"The revolutionary movement which gripped Persia in 1919-21 came under the direct influence of the October Revolution in Russia", Yaukacheva writes,

"The Great October Revolution," she continues, "which brought freedom to the woman of the Russian East, who, like the Persian woman, had no rights, could not fail to influence also the fate of the feminist movement in Persia. If those participating in this movement had up to that time consisted largely of women from the privileged classes, now the more comprehending women workers and peasants began to be involved. The living conditions in the country themselves facilitated this development. Difficult economic conditions, lack of political rights, oppression and coercion on the part of employers, all made working women think of their liberation. A letter written to men by a working woman and published in one of the Tehran newspapers is interesting in this respect. She writes:-

'The unhappy position of the Persian woman, truly deserving of sympathy, leaves you cold. I am certain that if your eyes were suddenly opened and lighted on the horrifying pages of woman's fate, if you could see all those torments, insults and outrages which we suffer at the hands of our masters and husbands, if you could feel the scalding tears we shed, then you would agree to our demands. If you were to see the defenceless, unhappy woman, alone, with nobody to protect her, a woman immured on all sides, you would not be able to endure it for a minute, you would remove the winding-sheets of constraint enshrouding her soul, you would make her free. Enough of keeping woman in humiliation and ignominy!'(9)

It must be said that there were still very few such voices to be heard in the nineteen-twenties. The feminist movement in Persia was basically cultural and educational in character, although the first steps had been taken towards emancipation."

## II. The Influence of Literature on the Emancipation of Women

### Women and the literature of the nineteen-twenties

In the nineteen-twenties, according to Yaukacheva, the position of Persian women "always evoked an angry protest from progressive elements in Persian society. There can be no doubt", she maintains, "that not one of the Persian poets and writers failed to take up this theme." She says that the best writers often wrote of the ill-treatment of Persian women; they passionately denounced the veil, forced marriages and the prejudices of society and ardently upheld the right of women to a position of equality in the family, to education and to freedom of feeling. As examples of this she gives the names of the poets Iraj Mirza (1874-1926), Abulqasem Lahuti (1887-1957), Mirzade Eshqi (1894-1924), Parvin E'tesami (1904-41), and Malek osh-Shoara Bahar (1886-1951), and of the prose-writers Mortaza Moshfeka Kazemi, Yahya Dowlat abadi, and Abbas Khalili.

Yaukacheva's concluding words on the literature of the nineteen-twenties are: "These writers portray for the most part not the external beauty and



fascination of woman, such as is often found in old Persian literature, but the wealth of her spiritual resources (Mahin, Effat, Jalalat in TEHRAN-E-MAKHUF (Terror-stricken Tehran) and Vasileh-khanom in ENTEQAM). Although they passionately exposed the existing order as being guilty of having condemned woman to a life of suffering, a life without rights, these writers, by virtue of their historically and socially hidebound outlook, were unable to suggest the right way to set about improving the position of women in Persia. They went no further than calling for a recognition of women's rights and her dignity as a human being. Their heroines belonged, as a rule, to the privileged circles of Persian society. Nevertheless, the treatment of the question of women in Persian literature was in advance of its time.

"Among the writings of the nineteen-twenties, one story occupies a place apart. This is THE LABOURER'S HARD LOT by Ahmad Khodadadeh(10), which vividly describes the position of the Persian peasant woman, deprived of her rights and with her hard lot aggravated by the unlimited despotism of land-owners and bureaucrats."

### The nineteen-thirties

The picture Yaukacheva gives of the nineteen-thirties is in striking contrast.

"The nineteen-thirties were characterized by a consolidation of the dictatorial power of Reza Shah and by superficial bourgeois reforms. Some of these affected women. A law was promulgated in 1935 prohibiting the wearing of the veil. Women began to be admitted to higher educational institutions and to do social work. This last development was an exceedingly positive factor in the life of Persian women, for they were enabled thereby to take their place in the life of society, and they began to take a part in production, without which it would be quite impossible for women to enjoy social rights. But Persian women were still economically dependent on men and had no political rights. The question of giving them equal rights did not even arise. Only a very few representatives of the privileged classes of Persian society were able, moreover, to enjoy the newly granted 'freedoms'. The internal policy of Reza Shah was characterized at that time by an openly reactionary attack against the democratic movement.

"The situation resulting from this policy had a most unfortunate effect on Persian literature. The forces of reaction put a decisive obstacle in the way of democratic literature, which was developing under the influence of bourgeois ideology and ethics.

"It was in these circumstances that a group of writers and poets came to the fore, who plainly accommodated themselves to the tastes of the ruling classes (Mohammed Hejazi, Ali Dashti and others). The woman question, which still remained one of the leitmotifs of Persian literature, lost, however, its earlier acutely social significance and was looked at by these writers

from purely bourgeois and at times reactionary points of view. While completely neglecting the social causes of women's lack of equal rights and failing to point out how her honour and dignity were being trampled on, Mohammad Hejazi and Ali Dashti endeavoured to prove that the main cause of the unhappy position of women was the women themselves and their 'frivolous' behaviour. They gave their heroines only negative characteristics, representing them as the embodiment of low cunning, deceit and lust (Ziba and Parichehr in the novels of the same name by Hejazi; Fetne and Sofya - the heroines of stories by Ali Dashti)."

### Sadeq Hedayat

Sadeq Hedayat's writings are described by Yaukacheva more fully than those of any other writers she mentions. "These years, when reaction held sway in literature, saw, however, the debut of the outstanding writer of contemporary Persia - Sadeq Hedayat (1903-51), who continued and developed the progressive traditions of the nineteen-twenties. Coming into literature during the years of widespread decline and decadence, Hedayat could not escape being influenced to a certain extent by idealist trends, which came out especially in his early works. At the same time he was able, by virtue of his constant attention to reality, his unfailing interest in the life and sufferings of simple people and a profound study of his people's way of life, eventually to overcome these influences and become an authentic realist writer.

"The heroes and heroines of Sadeq Hedayat's works are in most cases simple, 'ordinary' people, Persian labourers whose lives are described by the writer with great warmth and sincerity. Hedayat gives a large place in his stories to the miserable lot of Persian women, downtrodden, without rights and sunk in ignorance. Social conventions, lack of rights, the despotic rule of men, the woman's constant fear of finding herself turned out on to the streets, the spiritual loneliness of the family woman - Hedayat broached all these questions. In his stories showing the life and customs of the Persian woman, Hedayat has created a number of realistic figures and has revealed the causes of many of Persia's social evils.

"But the heroines of Sadeq Hedayat are only suffering creatures. They do not fight for their rights. The strongest protest they are capable of is suicide (as in the story *ABJI-KHANOM*), or crime (*CONFESSION*). Indeed, for the most part they submit to their fate (*THE WOMAN WHO LOST HER HUSBAND*). Hedayat could not depict his heroines as actively protesting or opposing, because of the established state of affairs in the country and of his own social opinions. The portrayal of Persian realities is, however, done with great artistry, and is in itself a striking enough proof of the writer's attitude of strong disapproval towards the regime of that time.

"Hedayat's artistic writings are the best examples of Persian prose in the nineteen-forties. Expressive and essentially popular language, superb composition, clear and concrete subject-matter with the inner tension characteristic of him, and lively characterization - these are the basic qualities of Hedayat's stories. Among the Persian writers of the nineteen-thirties Sadeq Hedayat stands out as one with a strong popular appeal."

### The Feminist movement in the nineteen-forties and fifties

The nineteen-forties, according to Yaukacheva, saw a great change in the attitude of Persian women. They refused to resign themselves to their position and, particularly during and after the Second World War, threw themselves wholeheartedly into political activities and played a big part in the struggle for democracy, independence, and peace. Leading them in their struggle was the Democratic Organization of the Women of Persia. "From the day of its foundation this organization was active over a large field. Under its leadership hundreds of women took part in mass demonstrations and protests. It did great work preparing for the universal women's congresses, and even more valuable was its work after these congresses. Throughout the country there were conferences of working women, peasant women and housewives, at which all the most urgent and vital problems were the subject of lively discussion.

"After the well-known events in Persian Azerbaydzhan (1945-6), all democratic organizations in Persia began to undergo persecution, and the Democratic Organization of Women was no exception. But, heedless of this persecution and of reactionary wrath, the women of Persia, as indeed the whole Persian people, continued their struggle.

"In September 1947, the Democratic Organization became a member of the International Democratic Federation of Women. Women representing Persia took an active part in the work of the second congress of the IDFW in Budapest in 1948, and at the conference of the women of Asian countries in Peking in 1949.

"In 1949 all democratic organizations, including the organization of the women of Persia, were declared illegal. In 1954 the Democratic Organization of the Women of Persia was obliged to give up membership of the IDFW, although the women of Persia did not call a halt to their struggle."

### Women in the literature of the nineteen-forties

In Persian writing of the nineteen-forties Yaukacheva sees "a new stage in the Persian workers' struggle for freedom". This, she says, can be seen in the more realistic nature of such writing, and especially in the way the oppressed labouring masses had become the hero. She makes particular mention, in this connection, of the writers Sadeq Hedayat, Bozorg

Alavi, Ahmad Sadeq, Ehsan Tabari, Beh-Azin and Darya. Many of the works of progressive Persian writers were, she maintains, dedicated to describing the life of Persian women.

One of the new features of the literature of this period was that women were no longer looked on as purely passive objects of sympathy. "Writers began to reflect in their works the Persian woman's growing realization of her position, her protest and struggle against lack of rights, her participation in the national liberation movement and in the struggle for peace. The heroines of these works are simple Persian women of working-class origins: peasant girls, maidservants in the houses of the gentry, labourers' wives, and women from the intelligentsia helping the workers in their struggle for freedom."

### Bozorg Alavi

Yaukacheva follows up these general remarks with a consideration of the writer Bozorg Alavi. "In his works", she writes, "he has depicted a number of memorable feminine figures, members, for the most part, of the Persian upper class and intelligentsia. He is interested above all in the position of women in the family and in society and her share in the political life of the country. In describing the position of the society woman, who, behind a veil of bourgeois hypocrisy and sanctimoniousness, is without any rights, humiliated and debased, the author exposes the contradictions peculiar to bourgeois society. Bozorg Alavi shows, at the same time, how the better representatives of this society realize all the burdens of their position and protest against the existing order of things (as in the stories DISGRACE, and THE HAPPY WOMAN). Frequently, indeed, they break with their environment and find the true path in joining the general democratic movement for the improvement of the life of the people (as in the stories THE COMET, LETTERS, HER EYES and others). This writer unmaskes the lying duplicity of the bourgeoisie. In the story DISGRACE, the heroine Makhlekeh Khanum tears the mask of hypocrisy from her husband, Dorostkar, the great writer and public figure who speaks 'ardently' on the wireless and in the press in favour of peace, friendship, humanism, the emancipation of women, and so on. In vivid, expressive and realistic language, Alavi shows the outrageous situation of the humiliated heroine in high society, where lying and debauchery hold undisputed sway and woman is seen solely as a source of amusement and pleasure."

### Other Writers

Yaukacheva mentions several contemporary writers who show women struggling against unjust social conditions. The inhuman exploitation of servant-girls is dealt with by Beh-Azin in ZIVAR, and THE FRUITS OF UNHAPPINESS (11), by Mehdi Abul Fathi in POVERTY (12), and by Mahdi Okhovvat in THE RED APPLE. (13) THE SUNSET OF RAMADAN by E'temadzadeh (14)

is the story of a worker's young wife who is driven to despair by her hard life and defies religious customs and precepts. Ehsan Tabari's story THE STORM APPROACHES (15) shows a progressive woman intellectual playing her part in the Persian feminist movement.

Special mention is made of AFSANEH AND AFSAR (16), the autobiographical conte by Maryam Firuz, the prominent leader of the feminist movement. In this book the heroine, after a divorce from her husband, is refused legal permission to take charge of her children.

Yaukacheva gives the story ON AN AUTUMN EVENING (17), by Ahmad Sadeq, as a "typical" example from contemporary Persia of a woman engaged in underground revolutionary activity. THE RIOT (18), by Darya, tells of a peasant girl who defends herself against a landowner, thus, "hitting out at the traditional foundations of country life". SACRED UNITY (19), the story by Parviz, is about another simple peasant girl, an intrepid fighter for peace, while Ahmad Sadeq's story, COMRADES (20), portrays more brave and heroic women, fighting for national independence and a better future for their country. The heroines of this story - Homa, Zivar and the others - reflect, according to Yaukacheva, "the exploits of the finest daughters of the Persian people, such women as Parvaneh Shirinli, Alyet Shermini and many others whose names have already become legends amongst the people of Persia".

### Conclusion

Yaukacheva concludes that Persian literature of the period under discussion has witnessed "the struggle of old and moribund reactionary ideas about women against those new ideas and concepts which life itself has brought to the fore in Persia. And in this struggle it is democratic literature which is in the vanguard, helping the Persian woman to understand the social nature of her inequality and to fight for her rights and her future."

### Notes

- (1) See M. S. Ivanov. "Vliyaniye russkoy revolyutsii 1905 g. na iranskuyu revolyutsiyu 1905-1911 gg." UCHENYYE ZAPISKI LGU, 1949, No.1, p.244.
- (2) Z.L. Khatsrevin. PERSIANKA, Moscow, 1928, p.39.
- (3) W. Morgan Shuster. THE STRANGLING OF PERSIA, London, 1912, pp.183-89.
- (4) SUR ESRAFIL, Tehran, 1908, Nos. 22, 25, 28, 30, 31.
- (5) See Z.L. Khatsrevin. PERSIANKA, p.39.

- (6) See K. Chaykin. KRATKIY OCHERK NOVEYSHEY PERSIDSKOY LITERATURY, Moscow, 1928, p.85.
- (7) Ibid., p.86.
- (8) Z.L. Khatsrevin. PERSIANKA, pp.40-41.
- (9) Ibid., p.43.
- (10) Ahmad Ali-khan Khodadadeh. KREST'YANSKAYA DOLYA, Moscow, 1931.
- (11) Beh Azin ('Etemadzadeh). PARAKANDEH, Tehran, 1944.
- (12) Mahdi Abu Alfathi. Article "Faqr", PAYAM-E-NOW, 1949, Nos.6-7.
- (13) Mahdi Okhovvat. Article "Sib-e-Surkh", PAYAM-E-NOW, 1948, Nos. 3-6.
- (14) 'Etemadzadeh. Article "Ghorub-e-Ramazan", KABUTAR-E-SOLH, 1952, No.4.
- (15) Ehsan-Tabari. Article "Tufan nazdik mishavad", MARDOM-E-ADINEH, 5th October 1948.
- (16) Maryam Firuz. AFSANEH VA AFSAR, Tehran, 1945.
- (17) Ahmad Sadeq. Article "Dar yak ghorub-e-payyiz", PIK-E-SOLH, 1949, No.2.
- (18) Darya. Article "'Asiyan", KABUTAR-E-SOLH, 1952, Nos. 21-22.
- (19) Parviz. Article "Payvand-e-Moqaddas", BESUYE AYANDEH, 18th February 1952, No. 549.
- (20) Ahmad Sadeq. Article "Rofeqa", KABUTAR-E-SOLH, 1952, Nos.21-22.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SINKIANG  
AND TIBET

In an article called "The Distribution of National Minorities in the Chinese People's Republic" in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No. 1 of 1958, S.I. Bruk includes some interesting information on the population of Sinkiang, and also of Tibet which, in accordance with Soviet practice, he accepts as being part of the CPR. It is of some interest to compare the information on Sinkiang with that contained in a previous article of Bruk's analysed in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol. IV, No.4, pp.433-7 and with the frequently divergent information provided by G.P. Serdyuchenko in his articles of the peoples and languages of China analysed in CAR, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp.78-81.

. . . .

I. Sinkiang - II. Tibet - III. Conclusion

I. SINKIANG

Bruk does not refer in his present article to the findings of Serdyuchenko, but now puts forward some facts more in accordance with the latter's. On the first page of his article he states that the "absence in China over a long period of time of a census of population prevented drawing even the most general picture of the distribution and numerical strength of the national minorities. The situation," he claims, "has decisively altered since the victory of the revolution in China. In connection with the tasks of national construction the people's government of China has carried out an extensive study of the national minorities. In doing this, a special difficulty has been to decide whether a particular group constitutes a separate people or forms part of a larger people." This, Bruk says, is especially important in parts of south-west China.

"The national make-up of China was first established on a sufficiently scientific basis and with a high degree of authenticity in the general census of 1953. In contrast with many bourgeois countries, where census forms contain a question on the mother tongue in place of one on "national consciousness", as a result of which the numerical strength of national minorities is underestimated, in the census forms of the Chinese People's Republic there is a question on nationality. In this way those national groups came to light which had to a considerable extent lost their mother tongue, but had conserved other ethnic peculiarities distinguishing them from the Chinese (for example the Manchus)."

In reporting the findings of the 1953 census Bruk gives the following

figures relating to the population of Sinkiang:

The Altay Family:

<u>Turkic group</u>		<u>Mongol group</u>		<u>Tunguso-Manchu group</u>	
Uygurs	3,640,000	Mongols	1,463,000	Solons	7,000
Uzbeks	14,000	Tung-Hsiang (Dunshyan)	156,000	Evenkis	7,000
Tatars	7,000	T'u (Mongors)	53,000	Manchus	2,419,000
Yu-ku (Sara- uygurs)	4,000	Pao-an	5,000	Sibo	19,000
Kazakhs	509,000	Daurs	44,000	Nanaytsy (Hechzhe)	1,000
Kirgiz	71,000				
Salars	31,000				
	<hr/>				
Total	4,276,000	Total	1,721,000	Total	2,453,000

The Indo-European Family:

Highland Tadzhiks 14,000

In two respects Sinkiang is unlike the rest of China, apart from Tibet and the semi-desert regions of Inner Mongolia, in having compact national minorities in its remote oases, and towns, in its southern part at any rate, where the overwhelming majority of the population is not made up of Chinese and Dungans. Northern Sinkiang, however, is one of the regions where the percentage of Dungans is considerably higher than in China as a whole. Bruk says that "there has been a tendency in the last few years for the representatives of the small peoples (nations) to increase their numbers among town-dwellers, especially in the centres of settlement of the national minorities".

Bruk maintains that the "ethnic peculiarities of any group of peoples may be more clearly established by examining the distribution of the various religions in China. The Chinese themselves are Mahāyāna Buddhists, Taoists and Confucianists". Hīnayāna is the religion of the Chuang-t'ai and Miao-yao groups, Lamaism of Tibetans and Mongols, while Dungans, peoples of the Turkic group, Tadzhiks, Tung-Hsiang and Pao-an are Muslims.



Although Chinese colonization of Yunnan and Kweichow has meant that these provinces are now settled by a two-thirds majority of Chinese, while Inner Mongolia and the north-east, more recently colonized, have as much as 90 per cent Chinese, Sinkiang is alone with Tibet in having less than 10 per cent Chinese.

### Dungans

"The Dungans", Bruk continues (p.79), "also belong to the Chinese group and they speak the same language as the Chinese. They are singled out as a separate nationality because of their way of life, their husbandry, and, above all, their religious isolation. The Dungans are Sunni Muslims of the Arzamic persuasion. They rarely mix with the Chinese in the country districts and usually form independent settlements of their own; in the towns they occupy quarters separate from the Chinese. Bruk outlines three theories of the racial origins of the Dungans, and mentions other ones. He concludes that it is highly probable that the Dungans are a mixed group, this being borne out by the various theories. Sinkiang is given by Bruk as one of the three areas where the Dungans are particularly concentrated, and they are to be found even in the western parts of the region. There, as everywhere, "they live for the most part in towns and the adjacent villages and are market-gardeners, horticulturalists, craftsmen and traders". (See also CAR, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 246-50.)

### Tibeto-Burmese group

Bruk, in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No. 2, 1956, (see CAR, Vol. IV, No. 4, p.434) makes mention of some Tibetans living in Sinkiang, but in the present article, where he devotes two-and-a-half pages to the Tibeto-Burmese group, no peoples of this group are given as living in Sinkiang.

### Turkic group

Bruk does not deal here with the Turkic peoples living in Sinkiang, referring the reader back to his article in SOV. ET., No. 2, 1956. Nor does he comment on the 1953 census figures, which show 14,000 Uzbeks and 7,000 Tatars in China (he says that these peoples are only to be found in Sinkiang) although they differ markedly from those supplied in his previous article. In this he reported 8,000 Uzbeks and 5,000 Tatars. The Soviet Encyclopaedia article on Sinkiang ("Sinkiang Uygur Autonomous Region", Vol. 39, 1956) also gives 8,000 Uzbeks, but makes no mention of Tatars. Serdyuchenko, in the article already quoted, gave the figure of 13,600 for the Uzbeks and 7,000 for the Tatars, and he wrote with knowledge of the 1953 census figures.

### Mongol group

Whereas in his previous article (see CAR, Vol. IV, No. 4, p.436), Bruk

divided the Mongols in Sinkiang into two groups: the Oyrats, subdivided into the three tribal groups of Torgouts, Khoshouts and Ūlōts, and the Chakhars, his later article shows a different categorization. The Mongols proper, he says, who among other places in China are to be found in the northern part of Sinkiang, may be divided into the following more important groups: Gorlos, Dzhalyt, Khorchin, Nayman, Tumut, Chakhar, Khuchit, Utszumchin, Torgout, Khoshout, Elyet, etc. There are five dialects used by the Mongols of China: the Eastern, Central, Bargu-Buryat, Western, and Oyrat. There are small numbers of Daurs, according to Bruk, in Sinkiang. These, apparently Mongolized groups of Tungus-Manchus, are located in the region of Tarbagatay (Chuguchak) on the accompanying map. In his previous article Bruk told how the Solons were, at their own request, renamed Daurs by the government of the CPR, and he included both Daurs and Solons in the Tungus-Manchu group. In his present article he offers no explanation for altering this and for placing the Daurs and Solons in separate national groups. Serdyuchenko, in his article (see CAR, Vol. VI, No. 1, p.79), insisted that the Daurs and Solons are separate peoples, blamed the Encyclopaedia for identifying them as one, and said that the Kuomintang wrongly ordered the Daurs to be called Solons. Bruk does not clarify this issue when he comes to deal with the Solons.

The Tung-Hsiangs are mentioned in the Soviet Encyclopaedia as being indigenous inhabitants of Sinkiang, but Serdyuchenko commented (see CAR, Vol. VI, No. 1, p.78) that there are only a few families there. Bruk did not mention them in his previous article (on Sinkiang) and in his present one (on China) locates them elsewhere. They are Muslims, he says, and, like the Daurs, agriculturalists, the Mongols proper being mostly nomads and livestock-breeders.

#### Tunguso-Manchu group

The Tunguso-Manchu group is represented in Sinkiang by the Manchus and Sibo, who are agricultural peoples of the southern sub-group, and by the Solons, of the northern or Tungus sub-group. Bruk notes that "out of the 2,400,000 people who called themselves Manchus at the time of the 1953 census, only a few in remote villages near Tsitsihar and Kirin, and also in Sinkiang, have preserved features of their national way of life and their language. In all other regions they have been assimilated under the influence of the higher Chinese culture and have lost their original features (including language and script)."

"The Sibo", he continues, "live in the north-western part of Sinkiang, in the valley of the river Ili, near Kuldja; a small number of them are settled in the north-east (i.e. Manchuria), in the lower reaches of the River Nonni. They arrived in Sinkiang as military settlers from the ranks of the famous Manchurian troops in the middle of the eighteenth century, after the break-up of the Dzhungarian khanate. The Sibo have retained

their language, which is close to Manchu."

Bruk states that "the Solons were moved from Transbaykal into Manchuria in 1732," and then describes where they are to be found in the north-east. "They are also to be found", he continues, "in the Ili district of Sinkiang, whither they were moved together with the Daurs in 1764. The Solons were in the ranks of the Manchurian forces. For this reason some of them live where there were Manchurian garrisons, in such towns as Tsitsihar, Hailar, Butkha, Mergyen', Aigun. There are a considerable number of Mongol words in the Solon language."

### Tadzhiks

"China's Tadzhiks are of the group of so-called Highland (or Mountain) Tadzhiks. They live in south-western Sinkiang, in the Tashqurghan area and in the valley of the Tiznaf and its tributaries, in remote and almost inaccessible highland terrain. Most of the Tadzhiks are cattle-breeding nomads, but a minority is engaged in hill-farming and is settled. The Sinkiang Tadzhiks, or Sariqoli, are akin to the Vakhanis, Shugnani and Roshanis, who live in the Pamirs in the frontier region of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. They speak one of the dialects of the Shugnani language, which belongs to the eastern sub-group of the Iranian group of languages. There is a considerable admixture of Turkic words in their language." Bruk has a footnote here to the effect that in his last article (SOV.ET., No. 2, 1956) he made a mistake in giving the language spoken by the Highland Tadzhiks as the Shugnani dialect of the Tadzhik language.

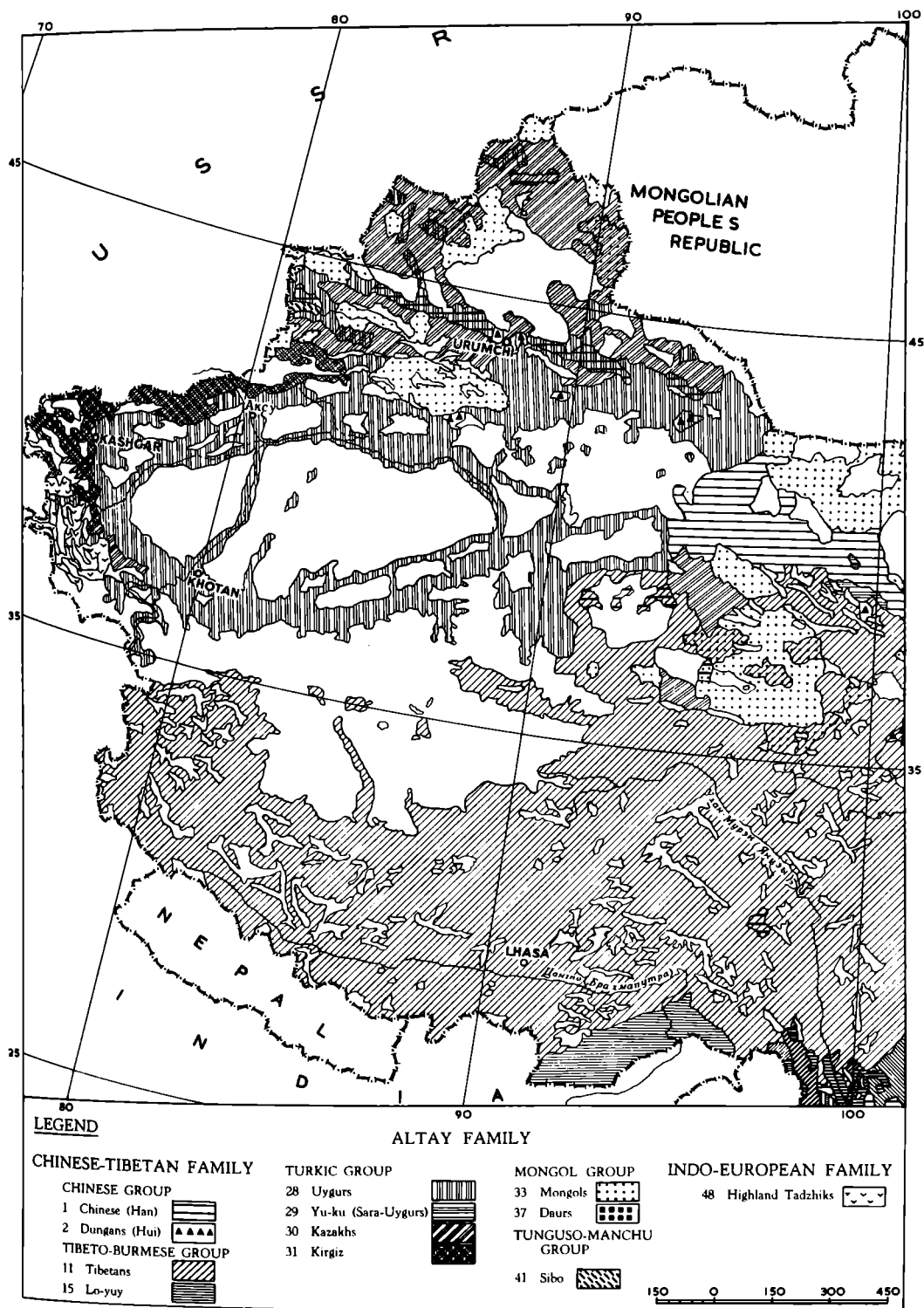
### Other peoples in Sinkiang

Bruk concludes his study of China's national minorities by mentioning several small groups, many of them in Sinkiang. "In Sinkiang, in the inaccessible mountains of the northern slopes of the Karakoram range there are small groups of so-called Kanjuts\* which have never been studied. (They are apparently Burusho, the main body of which is settled over the border in Kashmir. Also to be found here are a small number of Kashmiris, Afghans and Gypsies." As has already been pointed out, Bruk makes no mention here of the Tibetans he included in the similar list of small minorities with which he ended his previous article.

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\*It is possible that the Kanjuts referred to by Bruk as living in Sinkiang live in fact in that part which is marked as being in Sinkiang on Chinese and Russian maps, but as Indian territory on the Survey of India maps.

# Ethnographical map of Sinkiang and Tibet



Reproduced from *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1958, No. 1.

(It will be seen that the frontiers shown do not always correspond with the Survey of India maps.)



In mentioning the Russians in China Bruk says: "A considerable number of Russians used to live in China, in the north-east and in Sinkiang... In Sinkiang, Russian Old Believers began to settle at the end of the nineteenth century in a number of places in the north of the Altay district. There were Russians living also in the towns of Urumchi, Kuldja and Chuguchak. In recent times most of the Russians have been repatriated to the Soviet Union." This is in marked contrast to his 1956 article where he reported "many Russians" as living in Sinkiang and made no mention of their repatriation.

## II. TIBET

Bruk gives two peoples only as inhabiting Tibet to any significant extent: the Tibetans and the Lo-yuy people, both members of the Tibetan linguistic sub-group of the Tibeto-Burmese group of peoples. On the map accompanying his article (see p. 88) for which he is also responsible, no Chinese are marked as being in Tibet. This should be taken, however, together with his statement that there are less than 10 per cent Chinese in Tibet, which leaves it possible to conclude that the Chinese there are so thinly distributed, forming no compact groups, that it was impracticable to show them on his map and to discuss their distribution in his article. The 1953 census gives 2,776,000 Tibetans and 50,000 Lo-yuy living within the Chinese borders.

The following is a translation of the section of Bruk's article dealing with the two peoples living in Tibet.

"The main area settled by the peoples of the Tibeto-Burmese group includes Tibet and three provinces of south-western China - Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan. There are Tibetans living also in the more northerly provinces of Tsinghai and Kansu. Amongst those of this group living inside China, three linguistic sub-groups may be distinguished.-- Tibetan, Ching-po and I-tso.

"The Tibetan sub-group includes, apart from the Tibetans proper, four small peoples - Ch'iang, Nu, Du-lung and Lo-yuy. The peoples of this sub-group occupy the vast territory of the Tibetan upland which stretches 1,300 km. from north to south and 2,000 km. from east to west. This upland is bounded on all sides by the world's highest mountains - the Himalayas, Karakoram and Kunlun. At the edges of the upland the great rivers of Asia have their origin - the Yangtze, Hwang-Ho, Mekong, Brahmaputra and others. The Tibetan upland has a severe climate with heavy frosts and sharp contrasts between day and night temperature. The northern and western parts of the Tibetan upland, where there is a sharp increase in the dryness of the climate, are a highland desert of detritus and conglomerate, almost devoid of life. A large number of Tibetans are

settled outside China, on the southern and western slopes of the Himalayas inside the boundaries of Nepal, and also in Sikkim, Bhutan, Ladakh (1) and Baltistan, which form part of India.

"The Tibetans in Tibet make up the overwhelming majority of the population. Apart from them there are an insignificant number of Chinese (in the towns), some Gurkhas and representatives of certain peoples of the Himalayan group - Nepalese and Indian by origin. In the north-western part of Tibet cattle-breeding Uygur nomads sometimes appear from Sinkiang."

At this point in his article, Bruk gives a description of the distribution of Tibetans outside Tibet.

"The Tibetans have preserved the remnants of a tribal structure. Up to very recent times the main features of a feudal structure were still retained in Tibet. Most Tibetans are mainly engaged in agriculture, which is almost always combined with cattle-breeding.(2) Farming is carried on in southern Tibet in the valleys of the river Tsangpo and its tributaries, where a fairly dense settled population is concentrated. Most of the population lives in villages at an altitude of from 4,500 to 4,800 metres above sea-level. Mountain barley is the chief cereal in Tibet.

"Nomads and semi-nomads account for only a fifth of the entire population. They roam with their herds over small distances, their way of life differing but little from that of the settled population. The cattle-breeders mainly breed yaks, sheep and long-haired goats. Unlike the Mongols, Tibetan cattle-breeders nearly always own land.

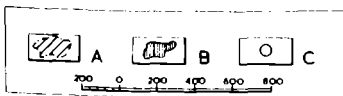
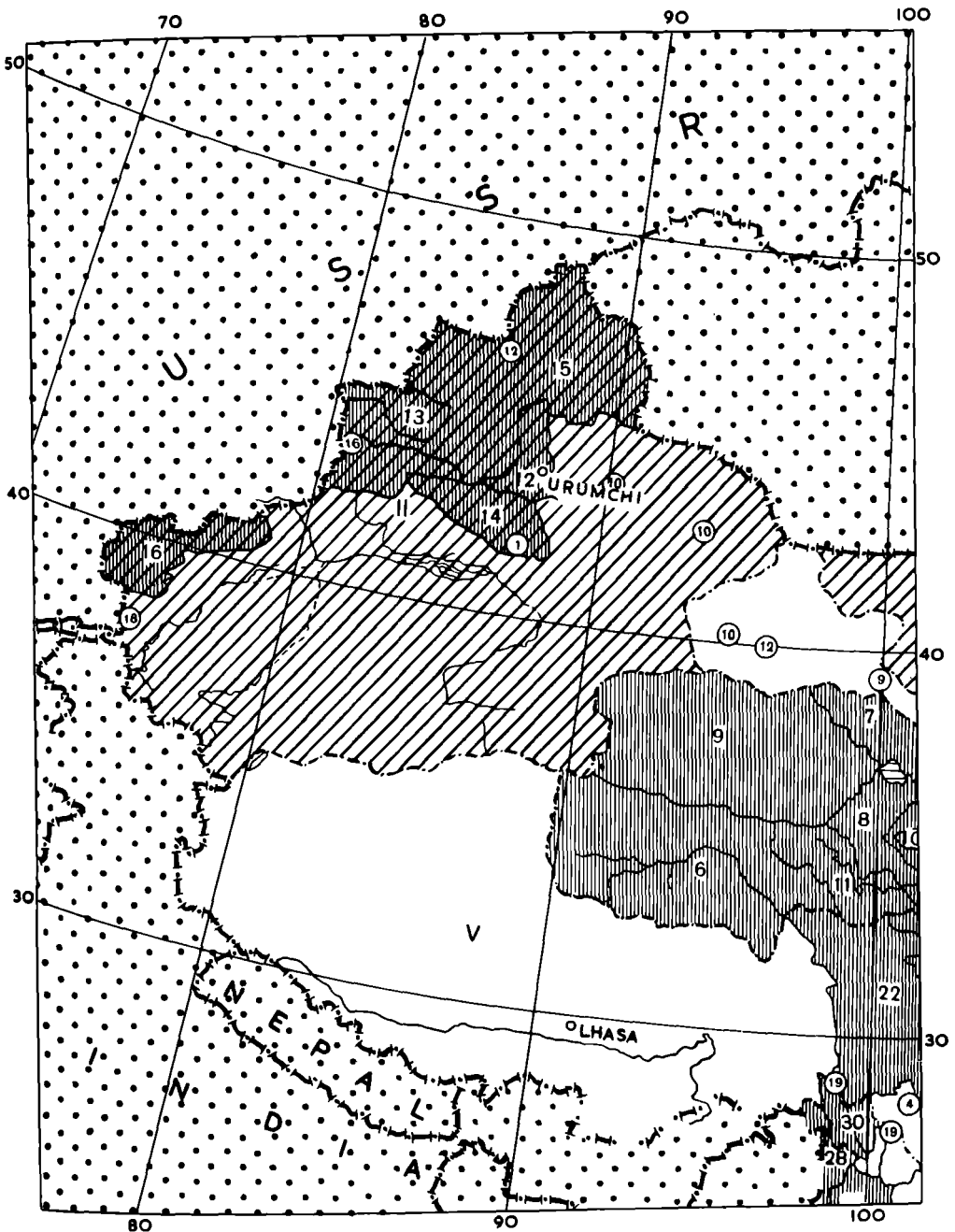
"The Tibetans are lamaists, adhering to that variety of Buddhism which penetrated into Tibet as early as the seventh century A.D. In the seventeenth century the lamaist priesthood acquired all political power. At the present time there are still a number of monasteries in Tibet, while the lama-monks may be counted in tens of thousands.

"The other peoples of the Tibetan sub-group have been little studied. Under the name of Lo-yuy are included several peoples living on both sides of the Sino-Indian border in the vicinity of the bend in the course of the river Brahmaputra, to the south-east of Lhasa. To the Lo-yuy belong the Dafla, Miri, Abor and Mishmi.(3) The Dafla and Miri live inside the bend of the Brahmaputra on both sides of its tributary the Subansiri. The Abor and Mishmi occupy the mountainous region to the north-east of the town of Sadiya, on the left bank of the Brahmaputra. They are all engaged in hill-farming and hunting."

### III. CONCLUSION

In the Chinese People's Republic all peoples are assured complete equality.

# The National Administrative Regions of Sinkiang and Tibet



## LEGEND

- A. AUTONOMOUS RAYONS: II - Sinkiang-Uyгур; V - Tibetan (a preparatory committee is at work).
- B. AUTONOMOUS OKRUGS: 12 - Ch'ang-chi Dungan; 13 - Boro Tala Mongol; 14 - Pa-yin-kuo-leng (? Baingolen) Mongol; 15 - Ili Kazakh; 16 - Kizil-Su Kirgiz.
- C. AUTONOMOUS UYEZDS OF NATIONALITIES: 1 - Hui (Dungans); 9 - Yu-ku (Sara-Uygurs); 10 - Kazakhs; 12 - Mongols; 16 - Sibo; 18 - Highland Tadzhiks.

Reproduced from *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1958, No. 1.

(It will be seen that the frontiers shown do not always correspond with the Survey of India maps.)





In accordance with the constitution, all nationalities "are free to use and develop their language and script and to preserve and alter their customs and habits". In the course of economic and cultural construction the government exhibits its concern for the needs of all nationalities, and in the questions of socialist reforms takes full account of the peculiarities of their development.

In all those places where national minorities are territorially concentrated, territorial autonomy is being established and autonomous rayons, okrugs and uyezds are being set up. Their boundaries are drawn with full regard to the historically complicated relations between the national minorities living there and also to local economic conditions. Included in the national autonomous rayons is territory populated by Chinese. This speeds up the liquidation of economic backwardness amongst the small ethnic groups (rod-ov).

In a number of places national minorities are spread in small groups over the whole territory. In that case national volosts are formed inside the uyezds. And if the national minorities are scattered and it is not possible to provide national autonomy, then democratic united self-governing institutions are formed for the various nationalities.(4)

In accordance with these principles there have been set up four autonomous rayons, 30 autonomous okrugs and about 50 autonomous uyezds in places where national minorities are territorially concentrated (according to figures for the end of 1957). (See map of China's national administrative regions on p. 90). Apart from this a preparatory committee has been formed, and in the very near future a Tibetan autonomous rayon will take official shape which will include Tibet proper as well as the Chamdo okrug which once formed part of the liquidated province of Sikang. Thirty of the larger national minorities have their own autonomous formation.

The Chinese people's government is consistently putting into practice a policy of differentiating between the approaches to reforms which are to be carried out amongst national minorities at different stages of social and economic development. Out of the 35.5m. people belonging to the national minorities, socialist reforms (preobrazovaniy) have in the main been concluded amongst 30m. Democratic reforms are at present being carried out in regions with a population of roughly 3m. people. In Tibet the western areas of Szechwan and the north-western and western parts of Yunnan, where these reforms are planned to be carried out at a later date, a number of steps have been taken towards improving the lives of the peoples and raising their cultural level. The Communist Party of China considers that there should be no hurrying in the matter of reforms amongst the national minorities, and that in some cases the period for carrying them out should be prolonged.

Notes

- (1) It was noted by a correspondent in a previous issue of CAR (see Vol.V, No.2, p.161) that Russian and Chinese maps often show the north-eastern part of Ladakh as being in Chinese territory. This is borne out by the map accompanying Bruk's article. It would seem, therefore, that when he is talking of Ladakh as Indian territory he means that part of Ladakh which even on Russian and Chinese admission, lies within India. (Trans.)
- (2) In many works it is incorrectly stated that **the** main occupation of the Tibetans is cattle-breeding. For example, the well-known geographer, P. Guru, writes as follows: "The inhabitants of Tibet know no other methods of husbandry apart from nomadic cattle-breeding." (P. Guru, AZIYA, M., 1956, p.44) This mistake is connected with the misconception that small nomadic Tibetan tribes are distributed over a vast territory of highland desert, whereas the main mass of Tibetans inhabit the river valleys. (Author's note.)
- (3) These are the names given by Indian authors. (Author's note.)
- (4) Such institutions are formed even where national minorities constitute only 10 per cent of the population (and in some cases when they make up even less than 10 per cent but have strongly marked nationalist attitudes). (Author's note.)

## B U R H A N   S H A H I D I

The following biographical details of Burhan Shahidi, formerly Governor of Sinkiang, have been taken with permission from an article by Hans de Weerd in OP DEN UITKIJK, September, 1958.

. . . .

Turkestan is situated between China, Russia and the Indian sub-continent and therein lies its importance. A year before his death Lenin said that the Communist world revolution was bound to succeed because Russia, China and India together contained the majority of the world's population. This is not strictly true, but it indicates the way in which Lenin hoped to gain world power for himself or his successors, and explains why the Red Army reconquered Turkestan, which had regained its independence after the collapse of the Tsarist Empire.

During the reconquest a man called Burhan fled to the Chinese occupied part of Turkestan. He was just 21 but he had two things of value in underdeveloped Turkestan - a good education and a knowledge of Russian.

Born in 1895 in Aksu in the Semirech'ye, Burhan was a Tatar - a race which took its name from the Mongols but in other respects is purely Turkic. The Tatars live mainly on the lower Volga and in the southern Urals, but scattered groups are to be found over almost the whole of the Russian Empire including Turkestan. The Tatars, having suffered longest under Russian domination, were the first to realize that they had to adapt themselves to meet the Russian pressure. The Russians, in their turn, tried to attract intelligent Tatars into their schools and make them into Russians. Tatars who preferred to receive their education in Turkic schools abroad found themselves on Tsarist police registers.

Burhan received his education in Russia, but shortly after 1920 he found employment in Sinkiang with a trading company in Tarbagatay not far from the Russo-Chinese border. To further his career, however, he had to move to Urumchi, the capital.

The Chinese Governor at Urumchi, Yang Tseng-hsin, was in a difficult position; his government's headquarters were far away, his Turkic subjects disliked Chinese domination and his western neighbours were the Bolsheviks. His policy, a sound one, was not to suppress the local population, not to irritate the Russians and not to give his superiors cause to suspect him of acting too independently.

Burhan procured an introduction to the Governor who saw something in him and employed him as an interpreter. Later he became manager of a

horse-breeding farm and then of an omnibus company. One Chinese source says that he was the Governor's "public relations officer". A German explorer who spent three months in Urumchi in 1927 wrote that Burhan was also considered to be the representative of the Muslims (that is practically the whole aboriginal population of Sinkiang).

In 1928 Governor Yang was assassinated. It is suspected that the Russians plotted the murder but it cannot be proved. Burhan's career was not disturbed by this event as in the same year he accompanied five young men, one of them the son of Yang's successor, Governor Chin Shu-jen, to Germany where they were to be educated. He remained in Germany until the beginning of 1933.

Burhan may have had contacts with the German Communist Party, at that time still strong, but if so nothing is known about them. He escaped the uprisings which broke out in Turkestan in the early 'thirties against both Russian and Chinese domination. He returned, however, to a scene of unrest.

The Governor had been overthrown by a putsch, since proved to have been Russian-inspired. His successor, the pro-Communist General Sheng Shi-t sui, was threatened by the attack of the Muslim rebel general, Ma Chung-ying (The Big Horse), from the neighbouring province of Kansu. It is possible that Ma Chung-ying met Burhan in Germany in 1930; this is not, however, completely certain.

Burhan represented the Governor during the negotiations with Ma Chung-ying. The results are interesting; the Russians, who had given the Governor suspiciously strong military aid, made Sinkiang into an unofficial Soviet satellite state. Ma, who had been violently anti-Communist, disappeared into the Soviet Union and in 1937 Burhan was appointed Consul in the Soviet city of Zaysan (Kazakh SSR) where, it is believed, he first made close contact with Communist Russians.

Since the early 'twenties the Russians had been training large numbers of revolutionaries in Turkestan who could later assume power in future Asian Communist republics. The Korean Communists, for example, were trained here. In Sinkiang the Russians had considerable influence, shot their opponents - real and supposed - and, under a secret treaty with Governor Sheng, were the first to exploit the country's rich mineral deposits. This state of affairs lasted until well into the Second World War. Then, however, Governor Sheng, discovering a Communist plot to assassinate him (his brother had recently been assassinated), confessed his dealings with the Russians to Chiang Kai-shek and, in exchange for a new pledge of loyalty to the Kuomintang Government, was maintained in his office. Burhan was recalled from Zaysan and given a gaol sentence of nine years for pro-Communist activities.\*

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\* It is more likely that he was imprisoned on charges of being pro-fascist and a German agent. (Ed.)

The Russians, however, who needed Sinkiang's minerals for their own war-effort and to finance Mao Tse-tung's Communist Party, and hoped to replace Sheng with a more willing puppet, made violent protests in Chunking (Chiang Kai-shek's temporary capital) and began to inform the Chinese of Sheng's earlier activities. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, however, stood firm until Henry Wallace, President Roosevelt's envoy and deputy, "advised" the removal of Sheng in order "not to irritate our Russian ally". (For the same reason Sheng maintained that his prisoner was not Burhan but Mr. Chang - a common Chinese name.)

Sheng was superseded in 1943 by Wu Chung-hsin. His aide, General Chang Chih-chung, was a secret Communist. Burhan was released and made Commissar of the Urumchi district and in 1945 became Deputy Governor of Sinkiang, whose northern half was then occupied by Soviet-supported anti-Chinese rebels. When the rebels wished to proclaim an East Turkestan Republic the Russians, fearing the effect of such an example in Soviet Central Asia, intervened and the Sinkiang Government came to an agreement with the rebels. It is not improbable that Burhan took part in these negotiations, but there is nothing to prove it.

In the same year (1945), as a belated concession to Turkic nationalism, Masud Sabri was appointed Governor of Sinkiang, the first Muslim Governor, Masud Sabri resigned in 1949 during a period of rebellions and, on Communist recommendation, was succeeded by Burhan, who was simultaneously appointed State Councillor in Chiang Kai-shek's Government. Kuomintang rule was already drawing to a close on the mainland, but when Mao Tse-tung's troops occupied Sinkiang in autumn 1949 Burhan was retained as Governor.

His main task appears to have been to purge Sinkiang of anti-Communist elements. By New Year's Day 1952 he could announce over Radio Urumchi that this task had been completed; 120,000 "enemies of the people" had been liquidated in three years, out of a population of five million.

In the same year (1952) Burhan was instructed to found a "Chinese Islamic Association". Chinese Buddhist, Protestant and Catholic associations were projected at the same time. In a speech made in this year at the Communist sponsored Peace Congress of Asiatic and Pacific Territories, Burhan predicted a new, happy future for Chinese Muslims under communism. When the Chinese Islamic Association was officially founded in 1953 Burhan Shahidi was unanimously elected president.

Although the Chinese Communist war-time civil constitution held that every non-Chinese people in the Chinese Empire had full rights of secession, the 1954 constitution declared the minority areas (which form 60 per cent of China's territory and are rich in raw materials), an inalienable part of the Chinese People's Republic. Burhan offered no opposition to this change in policy.

Burhan Shahidi was appointed a vice-premier. Under his auspices illustrated propaganda books on the life of Chinese Muslims under communism began to appear, with texts in English, Chinese, Arabic and Malayan. The opportunity for personal contact with foreign Muslims came with the Bandoeng Conference of 1955. Burhan made many contacts there, among others with the pro-fascist former Mufti of Jerusalem, Al Hussein, and with Colonel Nasser. Invitations to visit foreign Muslim countries were received and in 1955 Burhan (who had been replaced as Governor of Sinkiang the year before) visited Cairo. Between 1955 and 1956 Burhan and his subordinates visited every Islamic state and religious leader between Egypt and Pakistan, Syria and Afghanistan, and he became President of the Chinese-Indonesian Friendship Society.

In 1956, on Col. Nasser's recognition of Communist China, Burhan travelled to Cairo again, this time as a diplomat, to conclude a cultural exchange treaty. Egyptian scholars were already lecturing in Chinese universities. During the Suez crisis Burhan and the Communist Muslims gave full support to Egypt in their propaganda.

It is probable, however, that the organization which proved most fit to penetrate into the Arab World was the World Peace Council (with which is closely affiliated the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Committee). It could be for this reason that Burhan is acting also as an apostle of peace, and in this capacity he visited the Warsaw Peace Committee in June 1958.

## B O O K R E V I E W S

**STRANY BLIZHNEGO I SREDNEGO VOSTOKA** (Lands of the Near and Middle East). By Y. Basistov and I. Yanovskiy. Gosizdat, Uzb.SSR, Tashkent, 1958. 316pp. 45 line drawings; 61 two-tone illustrations; 23 maps; appendices.

This is apparently the first book dealing with the borderlands of Soviet Central Asia and published in that same part of the USSR. It seems to be intended particularly for the Soviet Central Asian reader.

The book consists of an introduction of ten pages, and twenty chapters each devoted to a different country in the area covered. There are also five statistical appendices showing, for "the lands of the Near and Middle East", (1) territory, population and capitals; (2) exchange rate bulletin of currency; (3) areas; (4) oil reserves and output and (5) cotton production. There is no index.

In his introduction, Basistov first summarizes the progress made towards freedom and independence in Asia and Africa during the last few years. He then gives a definition of the "Near and Middle East", which is of some interest. The "Near" East includes Egypt, Turkey, Syria, the Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the Yemen, the Sudan and also Aden, Oman (Muscat), Trucial Oman, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrayn and Cyprus, while the "Middle" East means Persia, Afghanistan and Pakistan. In naming the forms of government obtaining in these countries, Basistov gives as his opinion that protectorates are in a position in no way different from that of colonies. He discusses the policies of the states of this region and to what extent they are tied up with Western aims, and considers the importance of the commercial and economic life of the area. Particular stress is laid on the roles of the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower doctrine, and this is followed by an appraisal of the policies of the Arab League, the United Arab Republic and the USSR.

The three chapters whose subject-matter comes within the scope of the CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW are each written by Basistov. There are 7,500 words on Persia, 5,000 words on Afghanistan and about 6,500 words on Pakistan.

### Persia

Basistov begins by giving some general facts and figures and by describing the natural conditions of the country. Most of what he has to say on Persia, however, comes under the three heads of "Population",



"Economy" and "Brief Notes on Persia's History and Present Position", particularly the last-named.

The figures he gives for national minorities are more recent than those published in CAR, Vol.IV, No. 4, pp.417-20, and show a rise in all cases except for the Baluchis. He stresses that there are no minority rights. There follows a class analysis and a description of Persia's larger towns. The poor living conditions of the Persian people are dwelt on with special reference to the prevalence of disease, low expectation of life, heavy unemployment and mendicancy. The achievements in the realm of the arts, and the situation of the press, wireless and of popular education are touched on. Most of this chapter, however, is concerned with such matters as the alleged pernicious influence of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the appalling working conditions for its employees, the political life of Persia in the present century and the absence of political freedom there. A sinister picture is given of Nazi German, British and, latterly, American influence, especial criticism being reserved for the Baghdad "War" Pact. Progress in Persia, Basistov maintains, can only come from peaceful and friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union.

### Afghanistan

This chapter is likewise divided into two short sections on general information and natural conditions, and three longer ones on population, economy and "history and present position", the same order being followed also in the chapter on Pakistan (see below). The many national minorities in Afghanistan are mentioned but nothing is said of their being denied national rights. Although there are many illiterates, attributed to the stultifying influence of British colonialists, Basistov paints a glowing picture of a rich cultural life with flourishing university and learned institutes and with Soviet culture a prominent feature. Agriculture and industry are described in some detail, their backwardness being attributed to British colonial rule. The same baneful influence is repeatedly referred to throughout the article, no complaints being preferred against recent Afghan governments. Indeed, Afghan foreign policy is warmly praised, and its claims for Pushtunistan (Pakhtunistan) upheld. Soviet-Afghan cultural and economic links are dealt with at some length, and the conclusion reached that "Soviet-Afghan relations are a shining example of friendship and fruitful cooperation between countries with different socio-political systems".

### Pakistan

The chapter on Pakistan mentions that national minorities are completely lacking in autonomous rights, and that the Pathans are particularly malcontent. Tens of thousands in Karachi have no roof over their heads. While some peasants have taken over land from the landowners, the classes are economically far apart in Pakistan, and people starve to death, and die for want of medical help. The cultural and economic life of the country is described by Basistov in

terms far less hopeful than when he was writing of Afghanistan. Pakistan's attitude in the Kashmir problem is attacked as aggressive, and the Muslim league is accused of selling the country's interests to the USA. After describing the roles of the Communist Party in Pakistan and the development of Soviet-Pakistan relations, Basistov concludes by saying that only the goodwill of the Pakistan Government is needed to improve these relations, which would be to the advantage of both countries.

## NEWS DIARY

## AFGHANISTAN, INDIA, PAKISTAN, PERSIA, SINKIANG

The following diary includes items from newspapers and periodicals received during the period October-December 1958 inclusive. In view of the variety of sources from which the information has been collected contradictions may occur; no responsibility can be taken for the accuracy of the information given but the source is quoted for each item.

A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the REVIEW.

. . . .

AFGHANISTAN

- October 5th. Instruments of ratification have been exchanged in connection with the agreement between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan on the regulation of the Soviet-Afghan frontier, which was signed in Moscow on the 18th January 1958. (P. 6.10.58.)
- 6th. The President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Voroshilov, visited Afghanistan, 1st-6th October. (P. 7.10.58.)
- A new river port, the first big one in Afghanistan, is being built with Soviet aid at Kizil-kala on the River Pyandzh, thirty kilometres above the confluence of the Vaksh with the Amu-Dar'ya. (PV. 30.10.58.)
- Agreement and protocol on exchange of goods and payments between Afghanistan and Czechoslovakia has been signed in Kabul. (FET. January 1959)
- November 26th. Afghan journalists have left Stalinabad after a four-day visit at the invitation of IZVESTIYA, having previously visited Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad. (KT. 27.10.58.)
- Kabul bookshops are reported to have sold out in a few days the entire edition of a book, published in the USSR, on the recent visit of the King of Afghanistan to the Soviet Union. (BR. 23.11.58.)

16th. Conversations have begun in Kabul between the USSR and Afghanistan on questions of transit. (I. 17.12.58.)

31st. Sardar Mohammed Naim, the Afghan Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, arrived in Moscow to exchange views with Soviet leaders on relations between the two countries. (P. 1.1.59.)

A group of Soviet specialists is at present examining the left bank of the Amu-Dar'ya in Afghanistan. It is proposed to build hydro-knots and irrigation canals, including some in the region of Kelif. (See also CAR, Vol. VI, No. 3, p.360.) (PV. 11.12.58.)

7th. A branch of the Society for Soviet-Indian cultural links is to be started in Kazakhstan. Kazakh scientists, writers and artists have visited India, and Indian writers have had their works translated into Kazakh. (KP. 7.10.58.)

15th. A delegation of Soviet specialists in the pharmaceutical industry has left Delhi for the Soviet Union, having been in India since August at the Indian Government's invitation. They leave behind a report on the recommended development of the industry in India. (See also CAR, Vol. VI, No. 3, p.361.) (KP. 17.10.58.)

30th. An agreement is signed on arrangements for a shipping service between India and the Black Sea ports of the Soviet Union. (FET. January 1959)

An agreement has been signed in Bucharest between the Indian and Rumanian Governments for the building of one of the two new refineries for Assam oil. (See also CAR, Vol. VI, No. 3, p.361.) (T. 24.10.58.)

The Indian Minister of Mines and Oil, Mr. K. D. Malaviya, has paid a short visit to Moscow, where he was received by Mr. Mikoyan, to report on recent oil finds at Cambay. He says that Great Britain and the USA have given little help to India's oil industry, but that Soviet help has been invaluable. He outlines plans for the future development of India's oil industry. (P. 25.10.58; NT. No.42,1958)

1st. A festival of Soviet films opened in Delhi, as part of the commemoration of the 41st anniversary of the October Revolution. (P. 3.11.58.)

3rd. Trade and payments agreements have been signed between India and Eastern Germany. Details of goods given.  
(FET. January 1959)

4th. An exhibition of Soviet books has opened in Lahore.  
(KP. 11.11.58.)

6th. A big meeting was held in Delhi to celebrate the 41st anniversary of the October Revolution. (P. 7.11.58.)

15th. A protocol on trade between India and Poland in 1959 has been signed in Warsaw. Details of goods given.  
(FET. January 1959)

16th. A new five-year trade agreement has been concluded between India and the Soviet Union. Both countries undertake to increase trade with each other to the maximum. The agreement provides for each side extending most-favoured nation treatment to the other, as well as for the establishment of a clearing system under which payments will be made in rupees without conversion into sterling or any other currency. Goods to be exchanged are enumerated. (P. 17.11.58.)

16th. Mr. Nehru announces that Mr. Voroshilov is to visit India early next year. (P. 18.11.58.)

21st. The delegation of prominent Indian lawyers, led by the Minister of Justice, has left for India. They have been in the USSR at the invitation of the High Court. They have been received by Mr. Khrushchev and have also paid a short visit to Poland. (P. 11, 15, 19, 21, 23.11.58.)

The India Press Agency reported from Delhi that Indian M.P.'s expressed approval of the progress and organisation of labour at the site for the Bhilai steel plant, while deploring the slow rate of progress at Rourkela and Durgapur, where steel plants are being built by West German and British firms.  
(P. 27.11.58.)

The first of the three blast furnaces was completed at Bhilai at the end of November, and the first boiler of the power-generating plant was fired at the same time. The entire plant is expected to be ready for operation by the end of December 1959. (See also CAR, Vol. VI, No. 1, p.97.)  
(FET. January 1959)

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, said India had drawn the attention of the Soviet Government to "certain apparent inaccuracies" in a map published in the Soviet weekly *NEW TIMES*, and showing certain parts of India as Chinese territory. (See also *CAR*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p.99.)  
(T. 29.11.58.)

1st. The fourth conference of the West Bengal division of the Indo-Soviet Society for the Strengthening of Cultural Ties, which opened on 29th November, announced the formation of a special women's section. (SK. 3.12.58.)

12th. At the conclusion of talks which started on 21st November, an agreement is signed between the Soviet Union and India by which the Soviet Union is to give India equipment for the technological institute in Bombay and is to help train her engineers. (P. 13.12.58.)

25th. A delegation of Soviet women, headed by the Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan, D. Il'khamova, has left Moscow for Delhi at the invitation of the All-India Conference of Women. (P. 26.12.58.)

26th. The Fourth National Conference of the Indo-Soviet Society for the Strengthening of Cultural Ties opens in Bangalore. (P. 27.12.58.)

A delegation of five Russians has begun a four-week tour of tea plantations in Assam, West Bengal and South India. (T. 13.12.58.)

The Soviet Union has presented an electronic computer of the latest type to the Indian statistical institute in Calcutta. (I. 20.12.58.)

Quick-ripening cotton seeds from Kara-Kalpak have been sent to India. (PV. 20.12.58.)

A delegation of Indians prominent in the field of culture has been in Moscow since the beginning of December at the invitation of the Soviet Minister of Culture. (P. 21.12.58.)

The Soviet Union is to supply a large-scale thermal plant fed on lignite or brown coal for South India. (FET. January 1959)

The Soviet Union is to finance the manufacture of drugs and pharmaceuticals in India to the extent of £6.75 million.  
(FET. January 1959)

The first step towards mechanization in Indian iron-ore mines has been taken at Joda, Orissa, where one such mine is now using a ropeway manufactured in East Germany.  
(FET. January 1959)

A group of East German experts is preparing a project for cinema and X-ray films in India.  
(FET. January 1959)

### PAKISTAN

October 10th Iskander Mirza, speaking on foreign policy, disassociates himself from those adventurers who demand war with such countries as the Soviet Union, China and the United Arab Republic.  
(P. 11.10.58.)

According to Karachi Radio, Faiz Akhmed Faiz has just been arrested under the "Law for the Protection of Social Security". He was at the Tashkent conference of African and Asian writers in October.  
(I. 16.12.58.)

### PERSIA

October 1st. The delegation to the USSR of the Persian Majlis has arrived back in Tehran. (See also CAR. Vol.VI, No.4, p.474.)  
(P. 3.10.58)

21st. Soviet scientists have left Persia after taking part in the work of a symposium on soil salinity in reclaimed areas which took place in Tehran under the aegis of UNESCO. Soviet-Persian contacts between scientists are to be increased, especially because conditions in parts of Persia are similar to those in Central Asia and Transcaucasia.  
(BR. 23.10.58.)

25th. The Persian Minister of Trade has paid a short visit to Moscow.  
(P. 26.10, 2.11.58.)

31st. Mr. Gromyko has handed a note to the Persian Ambassador in Moscow which protests against the alleged conclusion of a Persian military agreement with the USA and points out that the Persian Government's action constitutes a threat to peace and contravenes the 1927 treaty between the two countries.  
(P. 1.11.58.)

A group of specialists in water economy will, on the 1st October, begin a fortnight's preliminary survey of the bed of the River Atrek, where it is proposed to construct a large, new reservoir to be used by both countries. This is in accordance with the Soviet-Persian agreement of 11th August 1957. (See also CAR, Vol.VI, No.1, pp.102, 103.) Work has begun on the preliminary survey for the reservoir at Kizyl-Atrek. (TI. 19.9,7.10.58.)

Senator Jam reports to the Persian Senate in glowing terms on the recent visit of the Persian parliamentary delegation to the Soviet Union. (BR. 22.10.58.)

For the first time a Persian film is being shown in Baku and throughout Azerbaydzhan. (BR. 31.10.58.)

November 9th. The Persian reply to the Soviet note of 31st October is handed to the Soviet Ambassador in Tehran. It refutes Soviet charges in the strongest terms and says the Soviet note is "totally unjustifiable and irrelevant". The Soviet Ambassador, after receiving the reply, is leaving Tehran for Moscow and will be absent for an unspecified period. (T. 10.11.58.)

11th. Persia is represented at the seminar for overseas health organizers which took place in Tashkent from 11th-15th November. (PV. 12.11.58.)

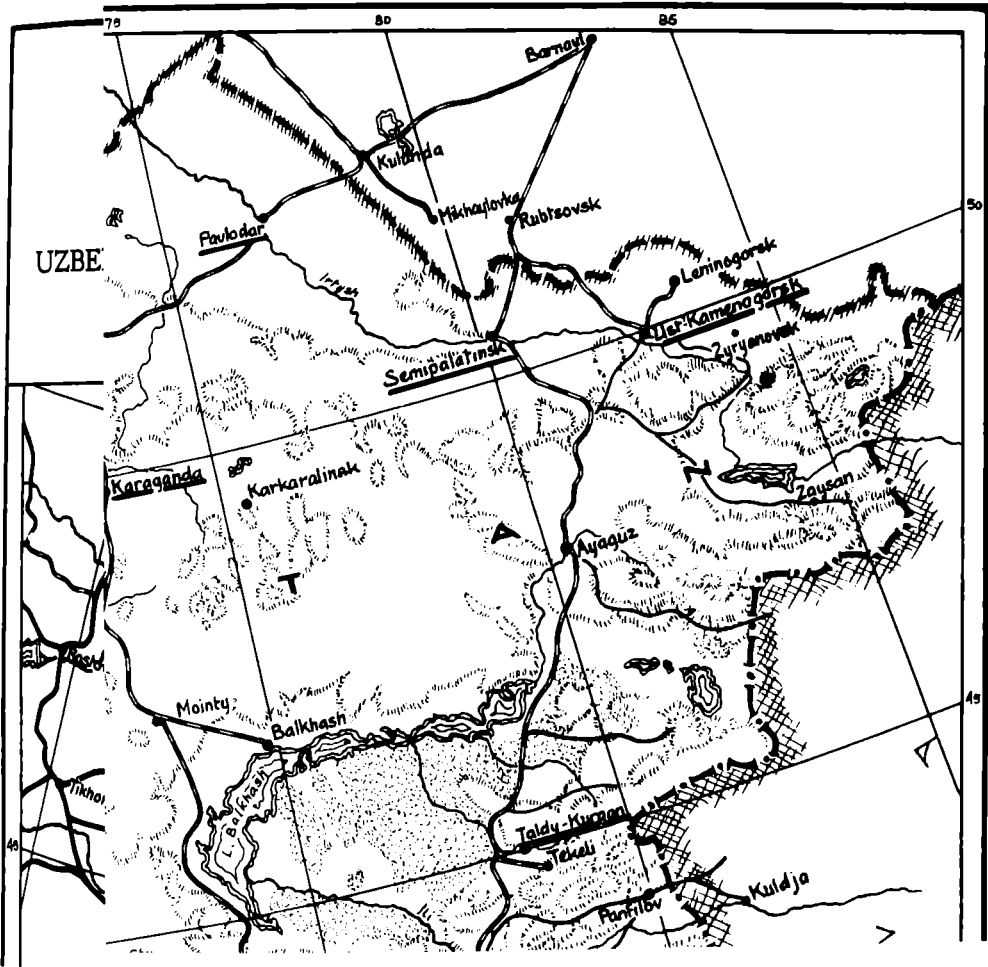
### SINKIANG

October 11th. A section of the Lanchow-Sinkiang railway, 1,149 km. in length, has been opened to passenger transport, and Sinkiang has received its first passenger train at its first railway station, Hunlyukhe. Work has begun on the Tyan'-Shan' tunnel, a key point on the railway. (SK. 17.11.58; DRUZHBA, No.45, 1958)

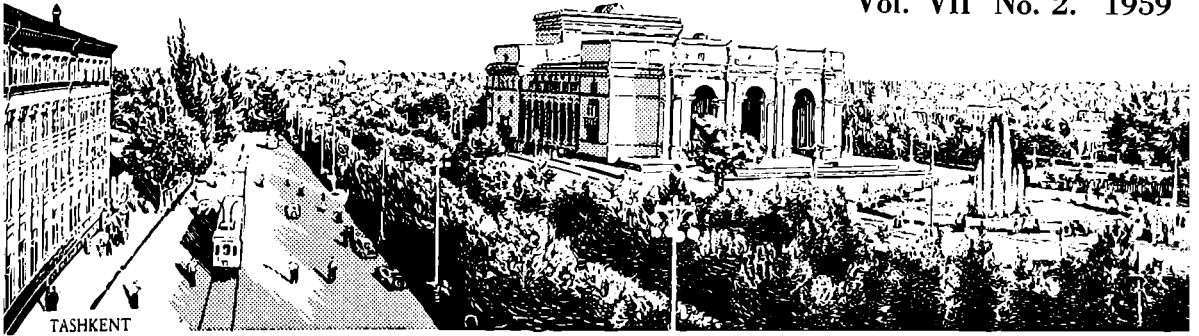
25th. A Chinese delegation, invited to attend the celebration of the 40th anniversary in Alma-Ata of the Lenin Komsomol, has arrived in the town, led by the secretary of the committee of the Komsomol of the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region and including young workers from the Karamay oil-field and the Friendship railway. (KP. 26.11.58.)







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In addition, the *REVIEW* analyses past and current Soviet publications on the countries bordering on or adjacent to these republics, namely, Persia, Afghanistan, the Indian sub-continent, Tibet and Sinkiang.

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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Review when referring to the Soviet Academies of Sciences, and to newspapers and periodicals etc. employed as sources, are as follows :-

AN/SSSR	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences) of USSR
AN/Kaz. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ Kazakh SSR
AN/Kirg. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ Kirgiz SSR
AN/Tad. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ Tadjik SSR
AN/Turk. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ Turkmen SSR
AN/Uzh. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ Uzbek SSR
SAGU	Sredneaziatskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet (Central Asian State University)
BR	Bakinskiy Rabochiy
FET	Far East Trade
I	Izvestiya
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda
KT	Kommunist Tadjikistana
NT	New Times
P	Pravda
PV	Pravda Vostoka
SK	Sovetskaya Kirgiziya
SU	Soviet Union
SV	Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye
T	The Times
TI	Turkmenskaya Iskra
VVS	Vedemosti Verkhovnogo Soveta

## CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

VOL. VII, NO. 2

## EDITORIAL

Since CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW started publication in 1953 the editors have naturally been curious to discover how it was regarded in the Soviet Union. Until quite recently the only reflection of Soviet opinion on this subject which they had encountered was at the International Congress of Orientalists in 1957 when one of the Soviet delegates objected that while the Review was "interesting" it was often unfair (neloyal'nyy) to Soviet achievement.

A new book by Kh. Sh. Inoyatov on the October Revolution in Uzbekistan (1) contains the first printed references to the Review which have so far been noticed. They are very disappointing partly because Mr. Inoyatov seems only to have seen Volume IV and partly because, either through lack of perception or deliberately, he misrepresents the Review's object. He complains that the authors of the articles "insist that the October Revolution gave practically nothing to the peoples /i.e. of Central Asia/ in the fields of economic and cultural development".

If Mr. Inoyatov had made this criticism of the very few articles and books on Central Asia published outside the Review before, and to some extent since, its appearance, he would not have been very wide of the mark. But one of the principal objects of the Review has from the beginning been to describe in detail the spectacular development of the region not only in every branch of economy but in the standard of living and in education, it must therefore be reluctantly assumed either

that his perusal even of the single volume to which he refers was perfunctory, or that he suffers from the same sensitiveness to criticism as the great majority of Soviet officials and writers.

Until a few years ago the opinion was widespread in the West that the economy of the eastern republics of the USSR was in a highly unsatisfactory state, that the people were oppressed and starving and ready to revolt against Soviet rule. Soviet propaganda did nothing to correct this largely erroneous impression because it insisted and still insists on going to the other extreme, on painting a picture of unqualified prosperity and contentment, and of mutual love as between the people of Central Asia and the Russians.

Central Asian Review, on the other hand, has throughout done its best by means of a careful scrutiny of Soviet Russian publications, as distinct from foreign propaganda, to get at the facts and thus dispel the dangerous complacency induced by failure to appreciate Soviet dynamism, relentless determination and skill. There is some irony in the fact that a criticism sometimes made of the Review by Western readers is that it paints too favourable and one-sided a picture of a region which is not open to impartial inspection.

When Mr. Inoyatov says that the Review "bemoans the fate of bourgeois nationalist movements in Central Asia" he is much nearer the truth and it is interesting to compare this reference with one made by M. Dzhusunov in an article in SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA of the 10th March. This writer refers to "a British periodical's" statement that "during recent years there has taken place in the USSR a revaluation of bourgeois nationalism. A good deal of evidence can be traced confirming a change... in the Soviet attitude towards bourgeois nationalism among the eastern peoples of the country". If as seems highly probable, this refers to the article entitled "Revaluation of Bourgeois Nationalism" in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW Vol.IV, No. 4, it is necessary to point out that this article contained no such statement. Its whole object was to point out that whereas the Soviet attitude towards bourgeois nationalism inside the USSR remains as hostile as ever, the XXth Party Congress had shown that the Party was prepared, at any rate for the present, to modify its attitude towards bourgeois nationalism in the countries of the non-Soviet East.

It is of course perfectly natural that the Soviet Union should dislike criticism of its motives, but it is interesting that it should be particularly resentful of objective comment which finds points to criticize as well as to praise and which declines to trim its sails to the changing winds of Soviet policy. Readers of Soviet periodicals are aware that it is precisely this kind of Western writing which Soviet reviewers make the object of their most impassioned attacks, whereas works which deliberately ignore or distort the facts in order to paint as black a picture as possible of Soviet motives and achievements are seldom commented upon at all.



As its regular readers know, CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW is now no longer concerning itself with economic developments in Soviet Central Asia. The Review will, however, continue to examine the vicissitudes of Soviet policy, particularly in relation to historiography and current cultural developments. The Editors feel that any attempt to describe these developments would be valueless if it ignored the past and present opposition encountered by the Soviet regime. As Mr. Dzhunusov said in his article quoted above, "the opinion that there was no nationalism in the Soviet nationalist republics in the past and that at the present time there are no nationalist survivals at all is mistaken". An assessment of the extent and significance of such survivals is clearly of great interest to research students and the Review is therefore obliged to take into account any indications of their existence and of measures taken to counter them. It will not assume that all dismissals of republican Party officials are necessarily connected with nationalist survivals as has become the habit of some sections of the Western press, but it will continue to follow the differences between Soviet attitudes towards nationalism inside and outside the Soviet Union.

Soviet sensitivity to criticism of their system of colonial administration will probably lessen in the course of time. In many material respects this system has achieved more rapid results than other systems; but it is not perfect, nor does it necessarily follow that all those who oppose it are any more reactionary, venal or selfish than the nationalists of non-Soviet eastern countries whose persistence has eventually gained for them not only complete self-government but complete freedom from foreign colonization.

#### Note

- (1) OKTYABR'SKAYA REVOLYUTSIYA V UZBEKISTANE by Kh. Sh. Inoyatov.  
Moscow, 1958.

#### Automatic Tractor

A tractor-driver on the Irtysh state farm, Pavlodar oblast, Kazakhstan, has invented a driverless, automatically steered tractor which is said to be especially effective on the vast fields of the Virgin Lands.

THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA:  
THE SURVIVAL OF RELIGION

The October Revolution hastened the process of modernization and westernization which had begun with the coming of the Russians to Central Asia by introducing there that version of the modern which is peculiar to the Soviets. The resulting mixture of the old and the new is typical of countries in transition, whose religious belief, social structure and old customs are undergoing profound change. The once clear-cut division into agricultural and cattle-breeding areas is fading together with the numerous features relating to each of them. The bringing of waste lands into cultivation, collectivization, the suppression of nomadism, the growth of industry with the resulting movement of the population, the decrease in the power of Islam and the standard system of secular education have introduced a very large degree of uniformity into the life of Central Asia.

Though Islam established itself in Central Asia in the eighth century, its hold on the country varied from one area to another. It was strong in agricultural oases and particularly in the towns where it assumed the orthodox Sunni form; it exercised profound influence on culture and everyday life; the population was subject to the Shariat while the Muslim clergy and particularly dervishes enjoyed much respect. The cult of saints was widespread, each district or even village possessing a tomb of some saint revered by the local population.

Among the nomads - the Turkmens, Kazakhs and Kirgiz - Islam spread much later and its hold on them was limited. Though the nomads formally accepted it, remnants of more ancient beliefs were too strong to die out altogether.

Within this broad division there was room for much local variety. In Tadzhikistan, for instance, although the majority of the population was Sunni, there was considerable adherence in the mountain regions to the Shia sect of Ismailism. In some villages, too, normal Shiism (Ithna 'Ashariya) was practised to some extent, but in secret since only Sunniism and Ismailism were officially recognized. The two sects co-existed with survivals of older beliefs, particularly of Zoroastrianism remembered by the Tadzhiks as the religion of their ancestors. Remnants of the Zoroastrian dualism are, or used to be, noticeable among the inhabitants of Karategin and Darvaz who believe that the universe is ruled by Khuda-Parvardegar, "God the Providér". Good angels are subject to him, but there also exist large numbers of evil spirits, the divs, whose abode are rocks, mountain streams and trees. By the use of sacrifices and incantations man can protect himself against their wrath. Side by side with the pre-Islamic divs the Muslim jinns enjoy much respect, and the cult of holy stones as well as that of saints and their graves was strong among the highland Tadzhiks.

The Uzbeks, like the lowland Tadzhiks, were orthodox Muslims, but traces of Shamanism survived among them. This was apparent particularly in the methods used for healing the sick by wise women who performed their art with the help of incantations and drum beatings, presumably in order to ward off evil spirits.

The Turkmens formally adhered to Sunni Islam which served as a laudable excuse to raid and plunder the heretical Shiites of Persia. But in fact the hold of Islam on them was weak and instead of the Shariat they used their own customary law. Ancient religious beliefs such as the cult of ancestors and of the dead in general were strong, and there was a considerable admixture of Shamanism and witchcraft.

Among the Kazakhs the position of Islam was similar to that in Turkmenistan. The influence of the Muslim clergy was limited, but the "holy men" (ishan) who hawked amulets enjoyed much respect. Like other Central Asian peoples, the Kazakhs worshipped the graves of saints, but old superstitions and religious beliefs survive among them.

The conditions of Islam in Kirgizia had a great deal in common with those in Kazakhstan. The early years after the Revolution witnessed its considerable expansion in that country, but it was arrested by the consolidation of Soviet power in those parts. The influence of old superstitions is still strong and among their promoters the most prominent are the bakshi - shamans who heal the sick with the help of the jinns. The jinns were divided into white and black, so that there existed two corresponding groups of shamans, but in practice the difference between them was small. There were also other animistic beliefs in spirits, mostly evil, of mountains, waters etc. (1)

To say that the hostile attitude of the Soviet Government towards Islam is alone responsible for its decline in Central Asia would be to oversimplify the problem. In theory the constitution guarantees religious freedom to the citizen, and since the war the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan have had their own religious hierarchy with a mufti residing in Tashkent. Zhdanko emphasizes that he is not appointed by the Government as used to be done under the Tsars, but is freely elected by the clergy and the faithful (2), and he adds: "The Soviet Government has handed over to Muslim religious organizations all mosques, mazars and tombs of revered saints, among them numerous historical monuments... Offerings voluntarily made by those who visit them are exclusively at the disposal of religious organizations; a considerable part of this income is spent on the maintenance of seminaries for Muslim clergy in Bukhara and Tashkent, as well as on publishing religious literature." (3) He goes on to claim that Soviet citizens are not only free to visit Mecca, but that every year a special aircraft takes them there. Finally, as evidence of free contact between the Central Asian Muslims and their brethren abroad, Zhdanko quotes the fact that some Central Asian students of theology study in foreign seminaries,

for example, in Cairo, while foreigners receive religious education in the Central Asian medreses; also foreign Muslim leaders visit Central Asia and vice versa. There are no grounds for questioning the truth of all these statements though naturally the character of persons allowed to visit foreign countries for the purposes of pilgrimages is open to some suspicion. Pilgrims are probably selected more for their political soundness than for their piety. To quote from Klimovich: "It was only when socialism was victorious that the preachers of religion (including Islam) changed their attitude and became loyal to Soviet rule." (4)

There are occasional mentions of "feudal bai" and religious survivals among the Central Asian intelligentsia and even among party members. D. Kshibekov (5) disapproves of the action of Otarbayev, public prosecutor of the Dzhalagash rayon, in the Kzyl Orda oblast, who followed his mother's funeral with a ceremonial feast. Not only were some cattle slaughtered but the readers of the Koran received 1,500 rubles and, what is worse, the kolkhozniks whom he invited were thus diverted from their work on the harvest. Another person to earn Kshibekov's disapproval was a party member, Elyubayev, employed by a meat products factory at Akmolinsk, who stopped working for some minutes at the time of the Muslim daily prayers. (6) But on the whole information supplied by the press suggests that nowadays Islam is stronger in the countryside than in the towns, which is consistent with the traditional conservatism of the village. It is interesting to notice that some of this evidence comes from Kirgizia where at the beginning of the Soviet period a religious revival took place. SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA of 18.10.57, for example, deplores the fact that in some rayons, among others in the Stalin kolkhoz in the Bazar-Kurgan rayon, mosques have sprung up; hundreds of people from all over the rayon assemble in the kolkhoz mosque every Friday. It adds wistfully, "... what a great loss it is to kolkhoz work, how many hours have been wasted in the cotton picking season alone." Mullahs have considerable influence on the country population, for example, the same paper reports that both mullahs and orthodox priests exploited the prolonged drought in the spring of 1957 to arrange prayers for rain; those conducted by the mullahs in the Alabuka rayon were attended by thousands of people, many coming from distant kolkhozes so that some were absent from work for as long as a week. KOMMUNIST KAZAKHSTANA ascribes to Islamic survivals not only the marriages of girls below the age of consent, but the instances of polygamy which still occur (7). The cult of saints is still strong, which makes Klimovich complain that "at the revered tombs and graves, sorcerers, fortune tellers and 'prophets' are often to be found who incite superstitious people to perform rites and sell water, pebbles and earth which they pass off as 'miraculous' healing media. Earth from the graves is mixed with water and swallowed, in the belief that it will act as a charm... Visits to 'holy' places are paid at different periods of the year, but become particularly frequent during religious holidays or fasts and particularly on the birthday (Maulud) of the saint whose name is connected with the grave or tomb." (8)

Such evidence coming from the country areas cannot disguise the fact that the hold of Islam on Central Asia is waning. In a search for reasons it is dangerous to concentrate on the spectacular repressive measures such as the purge of 1927-32, for these would be likely to have on the mass of believers an effect contrary to the one expected if their devotion to their faith were genuine. The reasons for the decline of religion are more complicated and they spring from the changing way of life. For instance, industrialization involves fixed hours of work which make the observance of some Muslim religious practices difficult, while on the other hand from the point of view of an ambitious individual the keeping of them is likely to appear as a hindrance in obtaining promotion. But the greatest single factor in the decline of Islam is the universal secular education whose spirit is hostile to all belief in the supernatural. A good example of a product of the period of transition in the life of Central Asia are the refugees from there. Some of these told Pipes that they believed in a Supreme Being, whatever its name, but added that religion was but a superstition which kept people backward, as for example the Arabs and Persians.(9) These notions are not necessarily the result of anti-religious propaganda nor are they by any means confined to the Muslims of Central Asia and other parts of the USSR.

The November 1954 resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, "On errors in the conduct of scientific-atheist propaganda among the people" directs "Scientific-atheistic propaganda should be based on the explanation of the most important phenomena of nature and society, i.e. subjects like the structure of the universe, the origin of man and life on earth, achievements in the study of astronomy, biology, physiology, physics, chemistry and other sciences which confirm the materialistic views on the evolution of nature and society".(10) The accepted method, according to PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 29.9.57, is now that "in the conduct of scientific-atheistic propaganda in no circumstances must the feelings of the faithful and the servants of the cult be hurt". The practical success of this more subtle "scientific" approach is described by PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, according to which after a scientific-atheistic lecture at a sovkhos a sixty-year old Central Asian woman declared, "we only believe in God because we hear too little truth about religion. If such lecturers visit us more frequently, the number of believers will keep decreasing."(11)

Agitators do not distinguish, at least for propaganda purposes, between Islam, pre-Islamic beliefs and plain superstition; they include the last under the general heading of religious survivals in order to cover Islam with ridicule the more convincingly. At popular lectures they not only use scientific arguments but even conduct practical experiments in order to show that all phenomena of nature have a natural explanation. When with these visible wonders they contrast the mutually contradictory statements in the Koran, its prestige can easily be undermined, at least in the eyes of the less critical listeners. Popular

atheistic literature, radio broadcasts and museums serve the same purpose; for instance the museum of scientific propaganda in Tashkent has two departments significantly called "Science and Religion" and "Science in the Service of Communism".

The accepted method of atheist propaganda in the press consistently confuses with religion not only old customs but also gross superstition, though some of the customs are not entirely devoid of religious element. The resulting mixture is interesting not only as an irritating obstacle encountered by atheistic propaganda, but as a little known branch of Central Asian folklore. It is worth noting that the material quoted below comes from country districts.

Occasionally country people confronted with a phenomenon of nature are at a loss for an explanation. Such an incident occurred in the village of Sary-Shagan on the shores of Lake Balkhash. KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA of 23.1.58. reports that a village "prophet", having heard a weather forecast predicted high flood on the lake which would mean that the end of the world was at hand. When in fact a storm broke, a group of women and old men proceeded to slaughter their cattle, pray and get ready to pass to the "next world". The paper adds that superstition is strong in Balkhash area and its centre is a village where a church, mosque and a Baptist house of prayer happily adjoin one another. A very interesting fact is the existence of what appears to be a parallel to Western "chain letters". In 1956 in Kazakhstan a "holy letter" circulated which said: "On the sea-shore a nineteen-year-old youth has received a letter from a man clad in white robes. Everyone who receives this letter should make seven copies of it and distribute them amongst the people. Should someone fail to do so within five days, he will meet with a severe affliction and misfortune". Then it says, "Pray ye to Allah our God, make sacrifices - if not, within the three days following 16th July 1956 a solar eclipse will occur and the end of the world will follow". The letter impressed even some agitators whose job it was to stamp out "religious superstitions" among the people. Such was one Bektenov, agitator of the Kalinin kolkhoz, South-Kazakhstan oblast, who was so sorely afflicted with the fear of divine punishment that he made copies and distributed them among the people. Similar cases occurred in other oblasts.(12)

The behaviour of domestic animals has its share in the making of superstition. In the Stalin kolkhoz, Merken rayon, it is regarded as an evil omen if a mare or a cow produces twins or a hen crows like a cock.(13) But the vast majority of superstitions are, understandably enough, concerned with health. Some of them offer an interesting glimpse of local plant-lore, which teaches that there are certain "holy" trees and plants - the sweet and sour cherry, fennel and the isirik grass which grows in the desert. The beech, walnut-tree, black willow, thuja, cypress and other trees are possessed of the "evil Spirit". In addition there exist places haunted by evil powers, as well as spots described as "kingdoms of devils, water nymphs and dragons"; to the latter belong banks of rivers and reservoirs, old burial grounds and

places overgrown with bushes. To make human life even more difficult, during some seasons of the year the powers of evil are particularly strong; such are spring as the time of blooming and autumn as the time when leaves fall. A combination of the "bad" trees and places may be fatal to man. One who falls asleep under such trees or at such places, especially in a "bad" season, is liable to contract a disease which indiscriminately the evil spirit or Allah inflicts on him. It is commonly known that a person who lies on damp ground is liable to develop sciatica, but "propagators of Islam often explain it by saying that the 'sinful body' and particularly 'sinful feet' have trampled 'holy places' and so received God's punishment which they deserved". They offer that sort of explanation for all sorts of cases including functional disease which often originates from suggestion (for example that sleeping on a river bank is dangerous). In some cases, such as the inflammation of the facial nerve, they say that the sufferer has turned to the devil's call and so twisted his face.

Certain springs and wells are believed to have miraculous healing properties and they attract pilgrims from afar. Apart from these there are two ways of unorthodox healing. On the one hand the Muslim clergy reject the influence of the devil in inducing disease and pray for divine forgiveness which would heal the "sinful body". The other method is much more varied and it is employed, at least in Tadzhikistan, by two distinct groups of healers. "...fanatics, quacks, sorcerers and 'those who cast out evil spirits' drive away devils with the help of common objects, e.g. an old skull-cap, drums, ashes, salt, dry bread crust, a bowl filled with water, coins, torches, blood of animals, soot, holy isirik grass, etc.... Occasionally such ceremonies result in maiming [the patient?]/... The other group of fanatics (or rather fire worshippers), which one can still find in bazaars and tea-houses, drive away the 'evil spirit' or pray the 'great omnipotent' for good health, happiness, prosperity and fame for those who have made them a suitable offering. They heal with the help of fire... and smoke obtained from isirik grass". This is an interesting glimpse of Zoroastrian survivals in Tadzhikistan, but the atheist agitator consistently follows his plan of discrediting Islam by all possible means and so he offers a bewildering conclusion: "It should be added that the above rite as well as the lighting of bonfires in the morning of New Year's day (old style), wedding bonfires, candles burning in places 'possessed by the devil', are the survivals of the pre-Mohammedan Islam [sic], i.e. paganism and fire worship." [ "...yavlyayutsya ostatkami domagometanskogo islama, to yest' ostatkami yazychestva i ognepoklonstva." ] (14) It is not denied that such healers are occasionally successful for functional disease may respond to suggestion.

Quackery is, as one can realize from Christian parallels, closely associated with the cult of saints. In the Chardzhou rayon (Turkmenistan), one Kurban Muradov, keeper of the tomb of Sakhidzhan-Baba, specializes in curing all sorts of disease; his methods of treatment include immersion in the holy waters of a pool adjoining the tomb, applying holy stones to the

affected part (for instance blind eyes), incantations, spells and reading the Koran. But a number of his rivals, including the "holy dame" Kazakh-bibi, visit the sick in their own homes which considerably decreases the income of Muradov's tomb. Another such "doctor" is Achil Permanov who specializes in treating women's diseases and his patients consult him at the mausoleum of Astan-Baba; his methods are a strict secret. Such superstitions would be less annoying to the scientific-atheist agitators if they were confined to the uneducated. But sometimes curious deviations occur among the Soviet-bred native intelligentsia. Azim Perdayev, head doctor of the Dargan-Ata rayon hospital (Turkmenistan), instead of giving his son proper medical treatment, took him to the tomb of the holy Dargan-Baba where he made an offering of a black goat in order to make his prayers more effective. The only difference between his action and that of his ancestors was that both the boy and the goat were delivered at the tomb by an ambulance. What is worse, Perdayev recommended this combined treatment of saint and black goat to many of his patients.

The above information suggests that though the decades of secular education and scientific-atheistic propaganda might have weakened the hold of Islam on Central Asia, its unorthodox fringe is more difficult to overcome. "The curative goat exists not only at Dargan-Ata." (15)

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3. "The Cult of Saints in Islam". L.I. Klimovich. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE SOVIET PRESS, No. 252.
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Notes

- (1) For the Tsarist attitude towards Islam see "Tsarist Policy Towards Islam: the Soviet Version", CAR. Vol.VI, No.3.
- (2) SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1958, No.4, p.136.
- (3) Ibid.
- (4) Klimovich, fo. 4.
- (5) Kshibekov, "The Way to Banish Islamic Survivals", p.113.
- (6) Op.cit., p.113.
- (7) KOMMUNIST KAZAKHSTANA, 1957, No.9, p.41.
- (8) Klimovich, fo.5; See also "The Survival of Religious and Social Customs in Uzbekistan", CAR. Vol.VI, No.1.
- (9) Pipes, THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, Spring 1955, p.149.
- (10) PRAVDA, 11th November 1954.
- (11) PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1958, No.4, p.58.
- (12) Kshibekov, O FEODAL'NO-BAYSKIKH PEREZHITKAKH, pp.56-57.
- (13) Kshibekov, "The Way to Banish Islamic Survivals", p.112.
- (14) This and the passages quoted above come from KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 24.7.57.
- (15) TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 11.10.58.

## THE REVOLT IN TRANSCASPIA

1918 - 1919

By

A Correspondent

Introduction - The revolt against the Turkestan soviets - The Malleson Mission and the Ashkhabad Government - The 26 Commissars - The Bolshevik retreat - The Osipov revolt - Defeat of the Transcaspian regime - The "reconstruction period".

Introduction

A common feature of books published in Soviet Russia dealing with events during the civil war period in Central Asia is the paucity of source material. Apart from occasional vague references to unspecified "official data", or quotations from press reports of the period, no serious attempt is made to substantiate assertions presented as statements of fact. The two most recently published Soviet accounts of events in Turkmenistan during the civil war period are the works of Klych Kuliyeu and A.K. Babakhodzhaev, both of which were reviewed in these columns in the article "Central Asian History", Vol. VI, No. 3 of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW. Both these works suffer from this deficiency.

The publication of a collection of documents under the title "Turkmenistan During the Period of Foreign Military Intervention and Civil War, 1918-1920 - Collection of Documents"(x) by the Archives Section of the Turkmenistan Ministry of Internal Affairs goes some distance towards remedying this state of affairs. The Sbornik is divided into three sections covering the periods June 1918 up to April 1919, April 1919 to the end of 1919, and the so-called reconstruction period during 1920. Although some 480 "documents" are included in the book, not all of these can be regarded as authoritative, since much of the material consists of press reports of the period, declarations and manifestoes issued by various Turkestan soviets and local bodies, recollections by persons who are stated to have participated in the military operations or in underground organizations during the civil war in Transcaspia, and orders issued by military commanders.

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(x) TURKMENISTAN V PERIOD INOSTRANNOY VOYENNOY INTERVENTSII I GRAZHDANSKOY VOYNY 1919-1920 - SBORNIK DOKUMENTOV. Turkmenskoye Gosudarstvennoye izdatel'stvo. Ashkhabad, 1957.

In a prefatory note the compilers refer to the difficulties of selection, and to the lack of authoritative material relating to certain important events, but contend that these gaps are adequately covered by the historical account given in the long introductory chapter. Very few documents derived from the archives of the anti-communist Transcaspian Menshevik-SR government of Transcaspia are included, and as explained by the editors, only those are included in the volume which "illustrate the anti-democratic character of that government, its relations with foreign imperialists and the crimes of the White guard nationalists and interventionists."

#### The revolt against the Turkestan soviets

Following the line taken by the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia and that taken by Kozlov, Kuliyeu, Babakhodzhayev and other Soviet writers (1) the Introduction presents the story of the revolt of the Transcaspian railway workers and their associates as a British instigated rebellion against Soviet authority, the intervention of British Indian troops as the advance-guard of a plan to seize the whole of Turkestan, and opposition to the Soviet Russian Government in Tashkent on the part of such diverse elements as the Mensheviks, "right" Socialist Revolutionaries, White officers, local "bourgeoisie", Kirgiz, Kazakh and Turkmen "Nationalists" as a coordinated effort, inspired and directed by the British.

This somewhat simplified version of the history of an extremely complicated and confused situation, is clearly expressed in Golovkin's introductory chapter:-

"Already at the beginning of 1918, a special Military Mission at the head of which was the well-known intelligence officer, General Malleson, was established at Mashhad (Persia)(2); and in Tashkent the counter-revolutionary 'Turkestan Military organization' with branches at Ashkhabad, Kokand, Samarkand, Fergana, Andizhan and other towns, under the direction of General Dzhunkovskiy, a former Gendarme officer, was in being. This organization (TMO) consisting of 'White' officers, members of the Russian and local bourgeois class, Mensheviks, 'right' Social Revolutionaries and bourgeois Nationalists, had as its object, in accordance with the plan of the British imperialists, the organization of an attack against the Soviet authority throughout Turkestan in order to use the territory as a base for an advance into Central Russia.

"The counter-revolutionary forces in Transcaspia, directed by the Military Mission in Mashhad and the TMO, in June 1918 attempted to overturn Soviet authority. The 'right' SRs, Mensheviks, Bourgeoisie, Nationalists, and other counter-revolutionary elements of Transcaspia, by provocative means, exploited the order of the Military Commissariat of the Turkestan government of the 16th June 1918 for the registration of all males between the age of 18 and 35. On the first day of

registration - June 17th in Ashkhabad - the 'right' SRs started an agitation among those gathered to obey the order for registration, and attempted to bring about a counter-revolutionary revolt. However, their attempt was quickly crushed by the workers and Red Guard units, and the provocative effort failed.

"The Ashkhabad Revkom, consisting for the most part of 'left' SRs and Mensheviks irresolutely entered into discussions with the 'right' SRs, and having set up a conciliation commission, agreed to revoke the order.

"On receipt of information regarding the provocation of the 'right' SRs and of the tense situation in Ashkhabad, the Turkestan Sovmarkom on the 20th of June sent a special commission to Ashkhabad under the President of the Samarkand soviet and Cheka Commissar, Andrey Frolov. Frolov had shown himself to be a firm and decisive Communist in strengthening the Soviet authority in Samarkand. With a small escort, he arrived in Ashkhabad on the 24th of June and declared martial law, revoking the decisions of the conciliation commission, and dissolving the coalition soviet. He then transferred from Ashkhabad to Tashkent the HQ of the Central Asian Railway which had become a centre of SR and Menshevik activity, and took steps to have new elections for soviets at Ashkhabad and Kizyl-Arvat so as to exclude 'alien' elements.

"Having thus decisively acted against SR elements in Ashkhabad Comrade Frolov failed to appreciate the complicated political situation and the knavery of the 'right' SR counter-revolutionary plot. Supporters of the 'right' SRs found their way into the new soviets.

"At the beginning of July, on hearing that 'right' SRs in Kizyl-Arvat were sabotaging the elections of the local soviet, Frolov went there with his escort. Taking advantage of the absence of Frolov and many responsible regional officials, the White Guards, SRs, Mensheviks and bourgeois Nationalists, on the order of General Malleon, began a fresh attack on the Soviet government authority in Ashkhabad on the 11th of July, having warned the Kizyl-Arvat SRs of Frolov's departure, and sending an echelon of armed SRs after him. On the 12th of July, the Cheka Commissar Frolov and his escort were taken unawares at Kizyl-Arvat, and after a desperate and one-sided struggle with the White Guards, perished bravely. Together with them, members of the Kizyl-Arvat Revkom lost their lives. On the same day, after a fierce struggle, the Soviet authority in Ashkhabad was overturned.

"Having seized power in Ashkhabad and Kizyl-Arvat, the brutalized counter-revolutionaries, during the following 10 days extended their authority throughout the territory from Krasnovodsk to Merv, but excluding Chardzhou and Kushk. They then formed organs of government; a provisional "executive committee" under the chairmanship of Funtikov was set up in Ashkhabad, and so-called strike committees in Krasnovodsk, Kizyl-Arvat and Krasnovodsk."

The documents cited in the *Sbornik* in support of this version of the revolt are few in number, and consist mainly of records of protest meetings and denunciations of the rebels by the Tashkent and other Turkestan local Soviets, mobilization orders and Party directives, and appeals to the workers of Turkestan to resist the new Transcaspian regime and give their support to the Tashkent Soviet. No authoritative document is included between the dates cited in support of the contention that the revolt was the work of "White Guards" or that it was instigated by foreigners. In fact, in a later paragraph in the introductory chapter, Golovkin states that the temporary victory of the counter-revolution was due to numerical inferiority, and lack of unity and experience on the part of the Bolshevik organizations.

#### The Malleson Mission and the Ashkhabad Government

The charge of participation by the British Mission in Mashhad in these early events is thus unsupported by documentary proof. It seems unlikely that any document which gave support to this contention would be omitted from a collection of this kind. Official and unofficial British accounts of the operations of the Malleson Mission state that this Mission was not established in Mashhad until early in July, i.e. several weeks after the revolt of the railwaymen at Ashkhabad and Kizyl-Arvat had started. The first reference to contact between the Menshevik-SR Government in Ashkhabad and the British is contained in a document (No. 30 of the series) dated 29th July 1918 which is an extract from minutes of a meeting of the Ashkhabad Government, and reads as follows;

"29th July 1918

"Presented for hearing: 14. Regarding the present political moment: in connection with the approach of British detachments to the frontier of the Transcaspian district:

Agreed. Taking into consideration the international situation, British support in the struggle with the Germans and Bolsheviks agreed to be necessary, for which purpose the Commissar for External Affairs is instructed to enter into negotiations with representatives of the British detachments near the Transcaspian frontier regarding the conditions in which such support might be granted. In this connection, the Executive Committee, in its capacity as supreme authority, declares that relations with representatives of the British detachments, whatever they may be, shall be maintained exclusively by the Commissar for External Affairs on behalf of the Executive Committee, the British to be informed accordingly. The Commissar for External Affairs shall therefore conduct negotiations with the British, together with representatives of the military authority, and shall report to the Executive Committee on the progress of negotiations."

No reference is made in this excerpt to General Malleson or to the British Mission in Mashhad. The only other document quoted having any bearing on negotiations with the British up to that time, is a further extract from a minute of a meeting of the Ashkhabad Executive Committee (No. 39 of the series) dated 3rd August 1918, which states:

"Presented for hearing. Report of the delegates and of representatives of the British Staff:

Agreed: Unanimously agreed after an exchange of views between all representatives of the Provisional Executive Committee representing the whole population of the district, regarding the question of accepting technical and financial help from the British... agreed that in principle such assistance is necessary... A special commission of representatives of both sides shall be set up to discuss details..."

As in the case of the previously quoted document, passages have been deleted from the published extract, and no signatures are given.

Three separate but similar accounts of events during Frolov's sojourn in Ashkhabad and after the destruction of his party in Kizyl-Arvat are given in recollections of underground Bolshevik workers (Nos. 34, 35 and 36). All three, while referring to the "provocative role" of Menshevik and SR leaders, place the responsibility for the revolt on the railway workers. Only one of these accounts mentions the part played by the Turkmen population, who apparently lent their support to the revolt. They are referred to as the "Kulak-Bay section of the aul (Turkmen village) population". The linking of all opposition elements: White officers, Bourgeois, SRs, Mensheviks, Nationalists and Muslim leaders, under the common heading of counter-revolutionaries, rather suggests editing in the light of later assessment of the opposition movements, of which the Transcaspien revolt was only one of many at that time.

None of these accounts makes any reference to foreign influence in the revolt, although those dated subsequent to the outbreak of fighting in August in the Dushakh-Kaakha area, in which British Indian troops took part, lay stress on the role played by the "interventionists" in these operations. Several of the documents throw light on the outcome of the contact established between the Ashkhabad Government and the British Mission at the beginning of that month. By that time, military operations were in full swing along the Central Asian railway west of Ashkhabad, the Transcaspiens, after an initial success having been driven back to a position in the vicinity of the Merv oasis. Documentary evidence of the difficulties being encountered by both sides is well illustrated by several army orders and bulletins, as well as by appeals by the Tashkent Soviet to Moscow for help.

Perhaps the most important document included in the first section of the book, and one which throws some light on the much disputed relationship

between the Ashkhabad Government and the British Mission in Mashhad, is No. 54, which contains details of the agreement reached between both parties on the 19th August. References in earlier Soviet publications to the accord between the Ashkhabad Government and the Mashhad Mission invariably characterize it as the instrument of a British plan to seize control of Turkestan; indeed, the writer of the introductory chapter to the work under review, quite evidently accepts this interpretation. The publication of the original document (or its Russian version) for the first time, suggests that perhaps a more objective view of the case may have been found desirable in the reassessment of the many legends which have become interwoven with facts in Soviet accounts of the civil war and its aftermath. The document, which is dated August 19th, appears to be the draft of the agreed terms rather than a formal agreement.(3) It is quoted in full:

"Protocol of the Agreement between the British Government and the Executive Committee of the Transcaspian Government dated 19.8.18. through the agency of the representative of the British Government for the conclusion of this agreement, Major-General W. Malleon, and the representative, for discussions with the representative of the British Government regarding this agreement, of the Executive Committee, Commissar for External Affairs, Vladimir Dokhov.

1. The British Government, on the one hand, and the Executive Committee, on the other, in view of the common danger from Bolshevism and a Turko-German invasion of Transcaspia and Turkestan, enter into an agreement to act together for the attainment of the following aims:
  - (a) The restoration of peace and order in Transcaspia and in Russian Turkestan.
  - (b) Resistance to the utmost to all Turko-German projects for the military conquest and political penetration of Transcaspia and Turkestan.
  
2. The Executive Committee of the Transcaspian Government desire from (ozhedaet ot) the British Government the following:
  - (a) Defence of the city of Baku on which, as the door to Russian Central Asia, the economic life and military strength of Turkestan and Transcaspia, to a considerable extent, depends.
  - (b) The establishment of a British garrison of infantry and artillery in Krasnovodsk for defence against the Turko-German or Bolshevik armies.
  - (c) Provision of the maximum amount of help to the Executive Committee by British troops, guns, machine-guns, aircraft, rifles, ammunition and explosives.

(d) Provision of financial assistance to the Executive Committee to enable the Committee to conduct the prosecution of the war and for its administrative needs.

3. In return for such help the Committee undertakes:

- (a) To give facilities to the British Government for the use of ships (steamers and sloops) on the Caspian Sea.
- (b) To give free access to the British Government for use of the port of Krasnovodsk, and to assist in putting it in a state of defence.
- (c) In the event of necessity, in agreement with the military representative of the British Government attached to the Russian staff, to withdraw all rolling stock so as to render the railway useless to the enemy.
- (d) To destroy, in the event of necessity, all oil and water tanks along the railway.
- (e) In the event of necessity, to destroy railway tracks, bridges, spare track and telegraph lines in order to impede the advance of the enemy.
- (f) To raise, and train in Transcaspia further contingents for military service.
- (g) Grant to the British all facilities in the use of the railway, telegraph (including radio); also admit British officers for liaison purposes; repair the section of the Mashhad-Ashkhabad road that is on Russian territory to render it usable for motor transport.
- (h) Withhold the export of cotton from Transcaspia until such time as the Executive Committee shall exercise authority over the whole of Turkestan, when export shall be on the basis of export permits, which shall take into consideration the possibility of cotton reaching the hands of the enemy.

4. On their part, the British Government undertakes:

- (a) To defend Baku by all available means as long as possible, and to endeavour to send oil and petrol in as large a quantity as possible to Krasnovodsk.
- (b) In view of the importance of Baku, subject to prior requirements, to defend Krasnovodsk with artillery and infantry troops against any enemy attack from the sea.
- (c) To place at the disposal of the Transcaspian Government machine-guns now at Mahommedabad for use in port defence.
- (d) To provide, in addition to the above, machine-guns and ammunition now on the way from India, and train in Mashhad not more than 12 selected soldiers of the Transcaspian forces in their use.
- (e) To supply 1,000 rifles with ammunition now on their way from India.



- (f) Make available to the Transcaspian Government, British military personnel, speaking Russian, as trainers.
- (g) To supply Mauser cartridges.
- (h) Supply explosives for the destruction of bridges etc., and if necessary, instructors in their use.
- (i) Make available additional military units for service at points as may be mutually agreed between the respective staffs, as soon as they can be brought up (from India), bearing in mind that in view of the long lines of communication and other difficulties, large units cannot be expected.
- (j) In the event of difficulties in overcoming physical obstacles on mountain roads, to lend aircraft.

5. The British Government agrees in principle the propriety of affording the Transcaspian Government with financial assistance for the prosecution of the war and for the attainment of the joint aims mentioned in para 1. The amount and the method of providing finance shall be the subject of further discussion and the agreement of both Governments. It is also recognized that if by mutual agreement a payment is made to the Transcaspian Government in the form of a subsidy, disbursements shall be subject to joint control.

6. (a) Regarding control of troops that may be made available to the Transcaspian Government, it is agreed that in the event of British troops being made available for a particular purpose, i.e. the defence of Krasnovodsk or on the front in the direction of Tashkent, the said troops shall not be diverted elsewhere without the permission of the British Government. It is however agreed that British troops employed at the front opposing Tashkent shall be under the orders of the Transcaspian Commander-in-Chief and shall carry out his orders, it being understood that such commands shall be conveyed through the British liaison officer attached to the Russian staff. After the arrival of artillery at Krasnovodsk, a portion of the same, dependent on the situation and by mutual consent, may be sent to the Eastern front.

(b) Regarding the defence of Krasnovodsk, which is a technical and naval matter, British troops at Krasnovodsk shall be under the command of the senior British officer, to whose staff an officer of the Transcaspian Government shall be attached for information and liaison purposes.

7. The representative of the British Government for all points of this agreement is Major-General Malleon.

On behalf of His Majesty's Government, I, Major-General Malleon representing H.M. Government, guarantee the continuance of military and financial help so long as the T.C. Government remains in power

and continues to place at the head of its political programme the restoration of order, and the suppression of Bolshevik and Turko-German intrigue and plans for invasion.

Signed: W. Malleson  
V. Dokhov

19.8.1918."

### The 26 Commissars

Only three short documents, Nos. 85, 86 and 87, refer to the incident of the 26 Commissars who were arrested by the Ashkhabad Government authorities in Krasnovodsk on their arrival from Baku on the 17th September 1918. All three relate to the arrest of the Commissars and provide no information regarding subsequent events which were to give rise to so much controversy and form the basis of the legend, still presented in the Soviet Union as a statement of fact, that the Commissars were shot by order of the head of the British Mission in Mashhad.

In a footnote to the first of the documents quoted, the compilers repeat the accepted Soviet version of this incident. The arrest and incarceration of the Commissars in Baku by the Central Caspian Dictatorship (which replaced the discredited Baku Soviet Government on the 31st July) are laid at the door of the British Commander at Enzeli. According to this version, which is largely based on the denunciation of a SR journalist, Vadim Chaykin, the Commissars, freed from prison on the arrival of the Turks in Baku on the 15th September, took ship to Astrakhan. The crew, acting under orders, took the ship to Krasnovodsk, then in the hands of the Ashkhabad Government. The Commissars were immediately arrested by the Town Commandant, Kuhn, and several days later were taken by train to a remote station in the desert and there shot - by orders of the British. In some accounts it is even stated that British officers were present at the shooting.

Although no evidence has ever been presented to substantiate this account of the episode, Chaykin's assertions, first made in press articles in Baku, have gained currency and form the substance of the account published in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia and other Soviet publications. The absence of any authoritative document in this collection which might help to elucidate the final phase in this affair is perhaps not as remarkable as it may seem. (4)

### The Bolshevik retreat

The military operations at Dushakh and Kaakha in September which led to the retirement of the Bolshevik forces beyond the Merv oasis are described with much detail in reports of the Red Army staff to Tashkent. The many difficulties with which the Turkestan Republic was beset at this time are presented



The top illustration is taken from *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* of 20. 9. 58. and the lower one from *Istoriya Grazhdanskoj Voyny v SSSR* (Moscow, 1957). Both are described as the artist I. I. Brodskiy's painting of the shooting of the Baku Commissars. It will be noticed that the reproductions differ in many respects.

500  
ROUBLES.

№ 39144 THE DRAFT OF THE BRITISH MILITARY MISSION

On behalf of the British Government I promise to repay in rouble notes on or before the end of six months the sum of FIVE HUNDRED ROUBLES.

January „14“ 1919.

Major-General MALLESON  
British Military Mission.

Обязательство Великобританской Военной Миссии.

Именем Великобританскаго Правительства я обязуюсь заплатить ПЯТЬСОТЪ рублей бумажными денежными знаками черезъ шесть мѣсяцевъ съ сего числа или раньше этого срока.

За Генералъ-Майора Маллесона  
Великобританская Военная Миссия.

Признано Закаспійскимъ Правительствомъ къ хожденію наравнѣ съ денежными знаками.

A genuine promissory note reproduced from one still in possession of a member of the Malleison Mission.

№ 6247

THE DRAFT OF THE BRITISH MILITARY MISSION.

On behalf of the British Government I promise to pay 3 months after of date to bearer the sum of FIVE HUNDRED ROUBLES.

December „12“ 1918.

Major General  
British Military Mission.

Обязательство Великобританской Военной Миссии.

Именемъ Великобританскаго Правительства я обязуюсь заплатить черезъ три мѣсяца съ сего числа предъявителю сего ПЯТЬСОТЪ рублей

Генералъ-майоръ Маллесонъ.  
Великобританская Военная Миссия.

Признано Закаспійскимъ Правительствомъ къ хожденію наравне съ денежными знаками.

The specimen of a note reproduced in the *Sbornik*.

in a number of documents, including appeals by the Tashkent Government to the Central Government in Moscow. Several reminiscences by former Red Army officers gave a graphic, if perhaps somewhat extravagant account of these operations, with a not unnatural tendency to exaggerate the numbers engaged on the Transcaspian side.(5)

#### British financial assistance to the Ashkhabad Government

The financial difficulties of the Ashkhabad Government are exemplified by extracts from the meetings of the Executive Committee of that Government, and reference is made (No. 137) to the issue by the British Mission of bills as a temporary measure to assist in overcoming the financial crisis. A photographic reproduction of what is alleged to be a specimen of one of these bills is included in the text. Comparison of this with an original bill obtained from a member of the Mission suggests that the reproduction may be a forgery. It contains four errors in English spelling, confuses the new Russian orthography with the old still in use at the time in Transcaspia; and the amount of the bill is given in figures only, whereas in the original it is given in words in Turkmen as well as in figures. (See illustrations.)

The falsification of these bills was evidently undertaken after the original bills had been redeemed. Whether this was a matter of private enterprise or a "psychological warfare" contrivance is a matter for conjecture.

#### The Osipov revolt

An event, around which much obscurity has been preserved, is the revolt in January 1919 of the Turkestan Government Military Commissar, Osipov, against the Tashkent Government. This affair, which resulted in the death of a number of his former colleagues and, after the failure of the rising, in the imprisonment and shooting of many thousands of alleged opponents of the Soviet regime, is commonly attributed in Soviet accounts to the machinations of the "Turkestan Military Organization" an anti-Bolshevik "White" organization, consisting largely of former officers. The TMO, it is alleged, operated throughout Turkestan and was linked with dissident elements among the Muslim population on the one hand, and with Menshevik and SR groups and their sympathizers on the other, and aimed at overturning the Soviet authority and replacing it with one in sympathy with the Entente, still at war with the Central Powers and Turkey.

The presence in Tashkent of a Mission, sent by the Government of India in July 1918 to explore the possibility of persuading the Tashkent Soviet to withhold supplies of cotton to the advancing German and Turkish armies and prevent the many thousands of German and Austrian prisoners of war located in Turkestan being recruited by the advancing Germans for operations against India, is represented in later Soviet accounts of the

Osipov revolt, as constituting "proof" of British instigation of the incident. One member of the Mission, Lt. Colonel F.M. Bailey, an Indian army officer, remained behind in Tashkent after the return to Kashgar of the other two members in September, but being placed under close surveillance and lacking means of communication with his government, he was deprived of any possibility of continuing negotiation with the local authorities. When a government order for the arrest of all Allied subjects was issued at the beginning of November, Bailey went into hiding, and after many narrow escapes, found his way to Bukhara by means of a ruse the following October and eventually escaped through the desert to Persian territory in January 1920.(6)

Whatever contacts Bailey may have had during this time, it seems incredible that, being deprived of means of communication, without funds, and lacking any authority beyond the scope of his mission, he would have been able to exercise influence on the activities of the various anti-Bolshevik forces in Turkestan. Nevertheless, a legend has grown up, not unlike the legend of the post-war exploits of the late T.E. Lawrence, which attributes to Bailey the inspiration, guidance and coordination of opposition to the Soviet regime throughout Turkestan during 1919.

Despite the unanimity of Soviet accounts of Bailey's alleged role, no documentary proof has been forthcoming to support these allegations. The sole reference in the Sbornik is a footnote on page 186 which states:

"The counter-revolutionary revolt in Tashkent was organized by the British spy, Colonel Bailey, and the former Military Commissar of the Republic, Osipov. On the night of the 18-19th January, the "White Guards" brutally killed 14 Bolsheviks, - People's Commissars and leaders of the workers..."

The fact that Osipov was a leading member of the Turkestan Soviet Government, and Military Commissar, and that he was able to enlist on his side a considerable portion of the Bolshevik military garrison, would seem to indicate that conflict of loyalties, personal ambitions, and contentiousness were failings common to both sides. The assertion is made in the introductory chapter that: "the plan of the British imperialists and White guards was to bring about a rising in Tashkent, Samarkand and other towns in Fergana at the moment of activization of the Orenburg, Transcaspian and Semirechian fronts, to which the Fergana Basmachi, Irgash and Ishmat were to join forces... The cunning plans of the British and White Guards were discovered by the Turkestan Government... At the end of October the Cheka uncovered the counter-revolutionary TMO and established its connection with Anglo-American espionage. Among the counter-revolutionaries arrested were a group of Anglo-American spies."

No documentary evidence of this alleged association of British missions with the TMO has been vouchsafed; the only "proof" offered of the existence of a "treaty" between the British and the TMO is an extract from a Moscow

newspaper, PRAVDA, of 22nd November 1922.

### Defeat of the Transcaspian regime

Following the surrender of Turkey in October 1918 and, shortly afterwards, the German collapse, there was no longer any military justification for the presence of British forces in Transcaspia. The order for withdrawal was issued in January 1919, but owing to the difficulties of evacuation during the winter months, and to enable the Transcaspian Government to reinforce its own forces from the Caucasus, the actual withdrawal from the front and from Ashkhabad did not take place until the end of March.

The front at Annenkovo, a few miles east of Bairam Ali, which had remained relatively quiet during the winter months, flared up a few weeks after the last British troops had crossed the border into north-east Persia. After several probing actions, a full scale attack was launched in June by the Tashkent forces, now reinforced by troops from Russia, and the Transcaspian army, outnumbered and outgunned, fell back in stages. Ashkhabad was abandoned in July, and in spite of continued resistance, mainly by troops sent by Denikin from the Caucasus, the Red Army pressed on with the attack and occupied Krasnovodsk in February 1920. With the fall of Krasnovodsk, all resistance ceased, and the Turkestan Republic was again in undisputed possession of the whole of the Transcaspian region. The defeat of Dutov at Orenburg and the opening of communications between Tashkent and Moscow had greatly contributed to the success of Bolshevik arms, but the collapse of the Transcaspian regime, never firmly established, was hastened by internal disunity, and its inability to cope with the economic and internal political problems with which it had been faced.

The second part of the *Sbornik* contains a large number of documents dating from that period which describe these operations, but surprisingly few relating to the breakdown of the Ashkhabad Government, or to the role of the Turkmen population during this period. Most of the documents published consist of Red Army reports and orders, new decrees, and administrative instructions. While these are of general interest in illustrating the course of military operations, and the steps taken to re-establish Soviet authority after the reoccupation of Ashkhabad, they add little to what has already been published.

### The "reconstruction period"

The appointment in October 1919 by the TSIK of the RSFSR of a special commission known as the "Turkestan Commission" to regulate the internal affairs of the area, which the Turkestan Republic had evidently found to be beyond its capacity, receives only scant mention. Delegates from Moscow had visited Tashkent earlier in the year, during a brief intermission in Dutov's hold over the railway at Orenburg, and had drawn attention to the mishandling of the native Muslim problem, and the "Russian

Chauvinism" displayed by the Tashkent Soviet under Kolesov.(7) The Basmachi revolt, stemming largely from the suppression of the Muslim Nationalists' attempt to create an autonomous government at Kokand in February 1918, was increasing in scope, and the policy of the Tashkent Government in excluding Muslim Turkestanis from the administration had if anything increased the intensity of the native rebellion.

Only two short documents deal with this situation: No. 284, an extract from the proceedings of the TSIK dated 8th October 1919, appointing the Commission under Eliava, with Frunze, Kuybyshev, Goloshchekin and Rudzutak as members, and No. 289, recording the mandate to Frunze, dated 10th October, signed by Lenin.

Of the work of the Commission in reorganizing the administration and providing for Muslim representation, no documentary evidence is provided in this collection of documents, although several relatively unimportant notices concerning economic measures are included. An extract from the Tashkent newspaper ISVESTIYA of 9th October 1919 refers briefly to the "work of reorganization" to be undertaken by the Turkestan TSIK, and continues: "Strict centralization brings to an end arbitrary 'local authority' and does away with the misunderstandings and friction that have hitherto prevailed."

Although the Turkestan Republic nominally continued for a time its autonomous existence, the Turkestan Commission with all the authority of Moscow behind it, quickly brought the administration into line with that of the Government of the RSFSR, whose policies in regard to nationalities began to be applied throughout Turkestan, in accordance with the decisions taken following the All-Russian Session of the Communist Organizations of Peoples of the East, held in Moscow on the 22nd of November 1919. (Documents Nos. 321 and 339.) The steps at that time being prepared to liquidate the feudal regimes in Bukhara and Khiva are foreshadowed in the latter document, an order of the Turkestan Republic Revvoensoveta of December 23rd. In this order the "dictator" of Khiva, an ex-bandit Djunaid Khan, is castigated as an agent of the British bourgeoisie and the White Guards. No document providing evidence of any contact between any British mission and the head of the remote and turbulent Khivan khanate is included in the collection.

The documents contained in the third section of the collection consist almost entirely of records of meetings of Party organizations, government orders, and resolutions of local bodies. These are mainly concerned with economic and administrative matters of local interest. While providing material for the student of the so-called "reconstruction period", its historical significance is academic, since the reforms were largely swept aside in the later more wide-spread reorganization of the political, economic and social structure of the whole of Turkestan.



Notes

- (1) F. D. Kozlov. KRAKH ANGLIYSKOY POLITIKI INTERVENTSII I DIPLOMATICHESKIY ISOLYATSII SOVETSKOGO GOSUDARSTVA, Moscow, 1954.
- K. Kuliyeu. BORBA KOMMUNISTICHESKOY PARTII ZA UPROCHENIYE SOVETSKOY VLASTI I OSUSHCHESTVLENIYE NATSIONAL'NOY POLITIKI V SREDNEY AZII, Ashkhabad, 1956.
- A. K. Babakhodzhaev. PROVAL ANGLIYSKOY AGRESSIVNOY POLITIKI V SREDNEY AZII 1917-1920, Tashkent, 1955.
- (2) According to British official records and General Malleon's own account, the British Mission did not leave India for Mashhad before June 1918, and arrived in Mashhad after the revolt of the railway workers in Ashkhabad had taken place. (Cf. OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE WAR, 1914-1918. Vol. IV Mesopotamia; also article in journal of the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, Vol. IX-X, 1922, by Major-General Malleon.)
- (3) No final official agreement between the two parties would seem to have been concluded, cooperation being undertaken on the basis of the 'protocol' and verbal understandings. All arrangements between the British Mission and the Executive Committee appear to have been of an ad hoc nature.
- (4) Cf. White Paper. Cmd.1846, Russia No. 1 (1923). Correspondence between H.M. Government and the Soviet Government.
- (5) British accounts give the number of British Indian troops engaged in Transcaspia at the time as about 350, later increased to some 900. (Cf. article in ARMY QUARTERLY, Vol. XVI, March 1923, by Colonel J. K. Tod.)
- (6) Cf. Lt. Col. F. M. Bailey. MISSION TO TASHKENT, London 1946.
- (7) Cf. Hayit, Baymirza TURKISTAN IM XX. JAHRHUNDERT, Darmstadt, 1956. Jos. Castagne. LES BASMACHIS, Paris, 1925. A. G. Park BOLSHEVISM IN TURKESTAN, New York, 1957.

## A Z E R B A Y D Z H A N

## A H I S T O R I C A L O U T L I N E

Pre-Russian Azerbaydzhan - Azerbaydzhan under the Tsars - The  
Nationalist interlude - Soviet Azerbaydzhan

Pre-Russian Azerbaydzhan.

Since ancient times the history of Azerbaydzhan has been determined by the high range of the Greater Caucasus which cut it off from the vast plain of European Russia in the north and turned it southward toward the ancient centres of civilization in Asia Minor and the Middle East. In this sense its present dependence on Russia reverses the natural course of its history, for it artificially draws the country to the north with which its culture has little in common.

In the Old Stone Age Azerbaydzhan was already inhabited by man; in the third millennium its Bronze Age started and the Iron Age opened about 1000 B.C. The most ancient groups of tribes inhabiting Azerbaydzhan were known as the Manii and Madai or Medes. At the end of the eighth century B.C. the country became part of Media and with her came under Persian domination in 550. After the death of the conqueror of Persia, Alexander of Macedonia, Lesser Media became an independent state known as Media-Atropatene, the latter word meaning a "country of fire", probably a reference to its Zoroastrian religion. Other versions of the name are known: ancient Persians called the country Azer-baygan, Armenians - Ater-patakan, Arabs - Adharbayjan.

In the fourth century B.C. the area between the Greater and Lesser Caucasus formed the state of Albania with its capital at Kabala. In 66 B.C. the Romans under Pompey attacked it, but the Albani remained independent in spite of Roman and Parthian invasions. In the third century A.D. the possession of Azerbaydzhan was contested by Persia and Byzantium and by the treaty of 387 it was annexed by the former. The Arab invasion followed in 642 and Islam was introduced. General dissatisfaction with Arab rule resulted in an insurrection (816-37) led by Babek. The movement so weakened the central government that Azerbaydzhan split into a number of semi-independent domains, one of which was that of the Shirvan shahs north of the Kura. By that time the Turkish element, whose influx had been going on for some time, was predominant on the lower reaches of the Kura and Aras (Araxes) where the nomads found suitable grazing grounds for their cattle. The conquest by the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century brought Azerbaydzhan under the rule of the Seljuk sultans of Persia, but their weakness allowed the Shirvan shahs to restore their former independence. The expansion of economic and intellectual life which followed, was checked by the Mongol invasions culminating by 1231 in the conquest of the

country. The decline of the Mongol state under the descendants of Hulagu in the first half of the fourteenth century allowed the Shirvan shahs to restore their power, but in the second half of the fifteenth century their power was overshadowed by the rise of the Safavids in Persia. The dynasty was founded by Ismail I (1502-24) who built a state stretching from the Greater Caucasus to the Persian Gulf and from the Euphrates to the Central Asian steppes. Its ruling class was recruited from among the Azerbaydzhanis, but under Shah Abbas the Great (1587-1628) Persians took their place and the capital was transferred to Isfahan. After his death a long period of disorder followed in Azerbaydzhan, while Persia engaged in a series of inconclusive wars with Turkey. In the 1720s the situation was further complicated by the awakening interest of Russia in Transcaucasian affairs.

According to the official Soviet version, by the beginning of the eighteenth century Azerbaydzhan was ripe for annexation by Russia and for the reception of the accompanying cultural, economic and unspecified benefits. Safavid oppression had become unbearable, economic life declined. A series of anti-Persian insurrections took place and the chaos was increased by Turkish incursions and "feudal" internecine wars. The Azerbaydzhanis' wish for union with Russia was allegedly so strong that subsequently they served as volunteers in the Russian army against Persia and Turkey. It is difficult to appreciate the situation on the eve of this "union", as the sources used for this article provide only the Soviet interpretation of those events. The country might have been, and probably was, in a state of chaos but it seems extremely doubtful whether there was much desire for a "union" with Russia. On the other hand, the example of Central Asia adequately shows how dangerous it is to rely on the standard Soviet technique of constructing appropriate historical backgrounds of such "unions"; according to this method, before its annexation by Russia Central Asia was suffering from grave economic, political and intellectual depression - a statement fully contradicted by historical facts. It seems therefore that there may be some ground for questioning the truth of the tragic account of a corresponding period of history of another colonial country.(1)

Internal disorders in Persia, which disturbed Russian trade there, and the possibility of Turkish expansion towards the Caspian Sea made Peter the Great undertake his Persian campaign in 1722. In the summer of 1723 the Russians took Baku; and by the Treaty of St. Petersburg Russia received the southern and south-western shores of the Caspian, Baku and Derbent included. Russian hold on these areas was confirmed in 1724 by a treaty with Turkey, but some ten years later they were returned to Persia in order to secure her cooperation with Russia in the impending war with Turkey. Internal confusion in Persia, which followed the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, allowed Azerbaydzhani "feudal" lords to establish independent states, the smaller of which were called sultanates and the larger khanates; the most prominent among the latter were Kuba, Shekin and Karabakh. The close of the century, according to a Soviet historian, A.N. Guliyev, was

as grim as its opening. "At the end of the eighteenth century the decadent feudal Persia and Turkey threatened more and more to enslave Azerbaydzhan together with the rest of Transcaucasia. Only a union with the powerful Russian state could save Azerbaydzhan from this terror. That is why progressive people in Azerbaydzhan enthusiastically supported its annexation by Russia."(2)

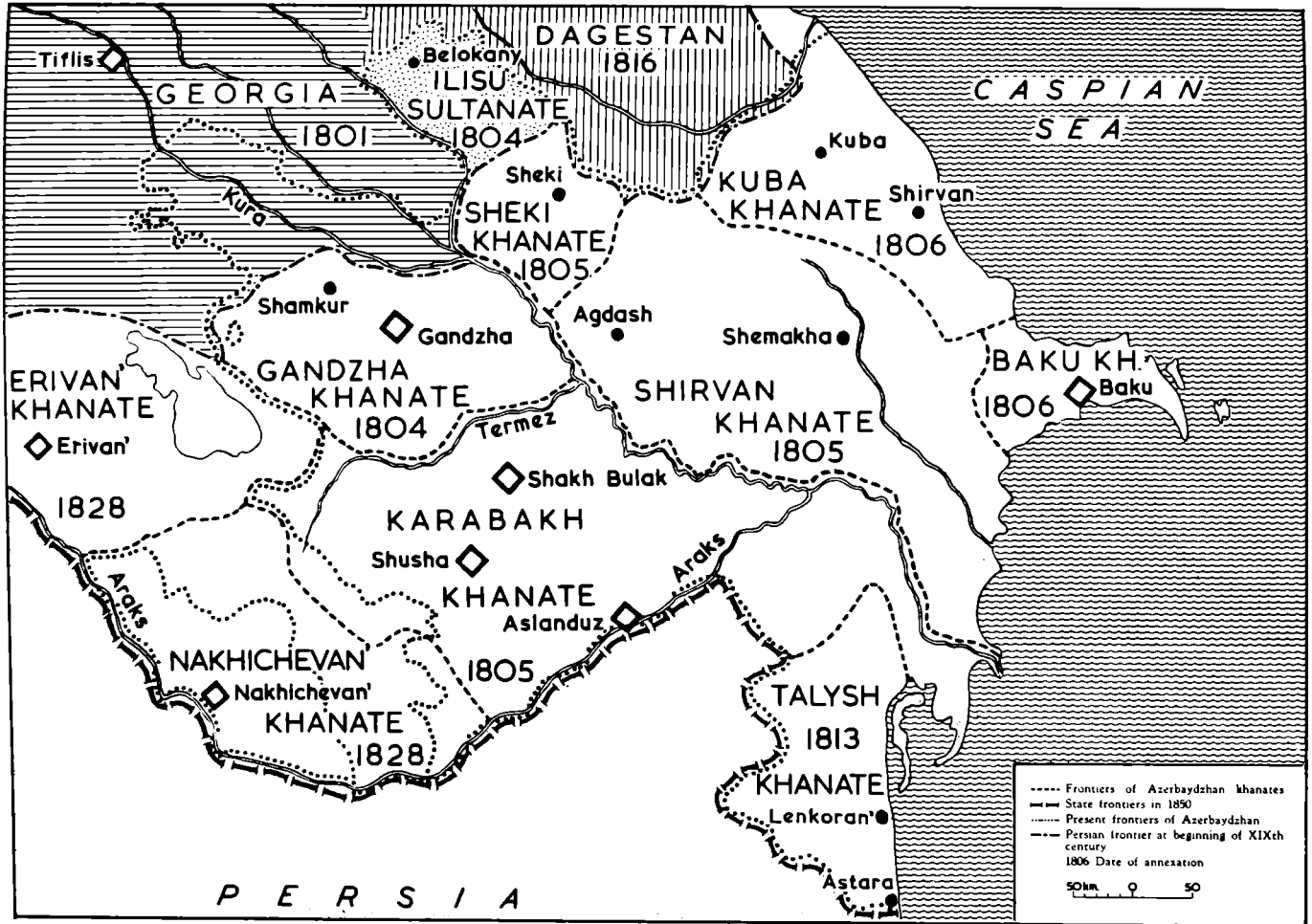
### Azerbaydzhan under the Tsars

In 1796 the active interest of Russia in Transcaucasian affairs was revived by the Empress Catherine, whose troops occupied Derbent and Baku; but her death interrupted the war. Russian expansion in the Caucasus started in earnest in 1801 with the annexation of Georgia, but the khanates defended their independence against Russia, Turkey and Persia. Russia's expansion in Transcaucasia involved her in a war with Persia (1805-13); it terminated in the Treaty of Gulistan by which the latter renounced her claim to the khanates of Shirvan, Sheki, Karabakh, Talysn, Derbent, Kuba, Gandzha and Baku. In the latter four the khans' government was replaced by Russian military administration and by 1821 the three former followed suit. Another war with Persia led in 1828 to the treaty of Turkmanchay which gave Russia the possession of Eriwan and Nakhichevan', and the river Aras became, and still is, the southern frontier of Russian Azerbaydzhan. Henceforward the name "Azerbaydzhan" was limited to its Persian part, while the Russians described the population of the conquered provinces as Caucasian Tatars, Musulmans of the Caucasus or simply as Muslims.

When the Russians had consolidated their position in the new lands, a series of reforms followed. In 1841 the military administration was replaced by the same administrative and judicial system as existed in Russia proper. As the government wanted to win the support of the local aristocracy, in 1846 the lands which they had held under the khans were restored to them, and in the following year the obligations of the peasantry towards them were defined. Only in 1870 was serfdom abolished in Azerbaydzhan and the peasants obliged to purchase the land allotted to them.

The annexation of Azerbaydzhan by Russia, according to the Soviet interpretation, was of "progressive value to the historical destiny of the Azerbaydzhani nation" because of its threefold benefit: economic, social and cultural. As the country's economy became part of a larger system, that of the Russian Empire, its natural resources, industry and agriculture developed. The process was stimulated by the construction of the Transcaucasian Railway in 1883 and the linking of it, in 1900, with the railway network of Russia proper. The production of cotton, fruit - particularly grapes - tobacco, rice and other crops grew to meet the demand of the Russian market. Some local crafts disappeared owing to the influx of cheap manufactured goods from Russia. The oil industry, already in existence in the later Middle Ages, now quickly expanded and by the end of the nineteenth century Baku became one of the main industrial cities of the Empire. Between

# THE ANNEXATION OF AZERBAJDZHAN BY RUSSIA



Reproduced from AZERBAJDZHAN SSR (Moscow, 1957)



1880-1904 the total export of oil from Baku increased fifty-fold and foreign capital, for example that of the Rothschilds, was invested in it. The oil and fishing industries of Azerbaydzhan resulted in internal migration of the population to the centres of these industries along the Caspian Sea. In consequence the old patriarchal system declined and local social distinctions grew less rigid.

Islam was not oppressed by the government, but clerical functionaries such as the Mufti and the Sheikh-ul-Islam, were appointed without much reference to the candidates' moral and educational standards. The erection of mosques without the assent of Orthodox clergy was forbidden.

There is little doubt that the expansion of the oil industry and the resulting international character of Baku caused Azerbaydzhan to develop on lines quite different from those followed by Central Asia. By 1917 the process of its Europeanization advanced so far that it could play a much more definite part in the events of the following years than Central Asia did, though both regions were Muslim and Turkic and subject to Russia. In the course of the nineteenth century a native Russian and European educated intelligentsia made its appearance. Apart from a professional intelligentsia connected with the oil industry, in the second half of the century there emerged native poets, playwrights, journalists and politicians. In 1873 the national theatre was founded, the first modern theatre in the East, and in 1875 EKINCHI (PAKHAR) began publication, the first newspaper in the local language. Its editor was Gasan-bek Zardabi and a number of Azerbaydzhani intellectuals wrote for it. Thus the country was to some extent ready to play an individual role during the revolutionary years of the early twentieth century. It had leaders who understood both European politics and the aspirations of their own people, and were therefore able to formulate their own policy - an advantage which Central Asia did not have.

By the beginning of the twentieth century the political activity of the Transcaucasian Muslims was growing. In 1904 a Bolshevik-controlled Marxist party, the Hemmat, was founded in Azerbaydzhan, but it is interesting to note that its chief leaders were two Armenians and one Georgian - Stalin. By 1907 the Hemmat was considerably weakened by the vigorous action of the Russian police.

The 1905 revolution in Russia was accompanied by strikes and disorders in Baku and the unrest spread to the countryside where armed bands plundered and killed Russian settlers; such action already had numerous precedents in the Baku and Elizavetpol provinces. Anti-Armenian riots, an expression of ancient mutual hatreds, broke out in the towns.

The Hemmat having failed to satisfy the aspirations of Azerbaydzhani intellectuals, among whom nationalism and pan-Islamism were spreading, in

1911-12 the Musavat was founded under the leadership of Rasul-Zadeh. Its programme included the promotion of unity and independence for all Muslim peoples and became very popular in Azerbaydzhan and among foreign Muslims; but its weakness was that it was somewhat vague, and the mass of the population was a tool in the hands of the Musavat's leaders, rather than their active supporter.

### The Nationalist interlude

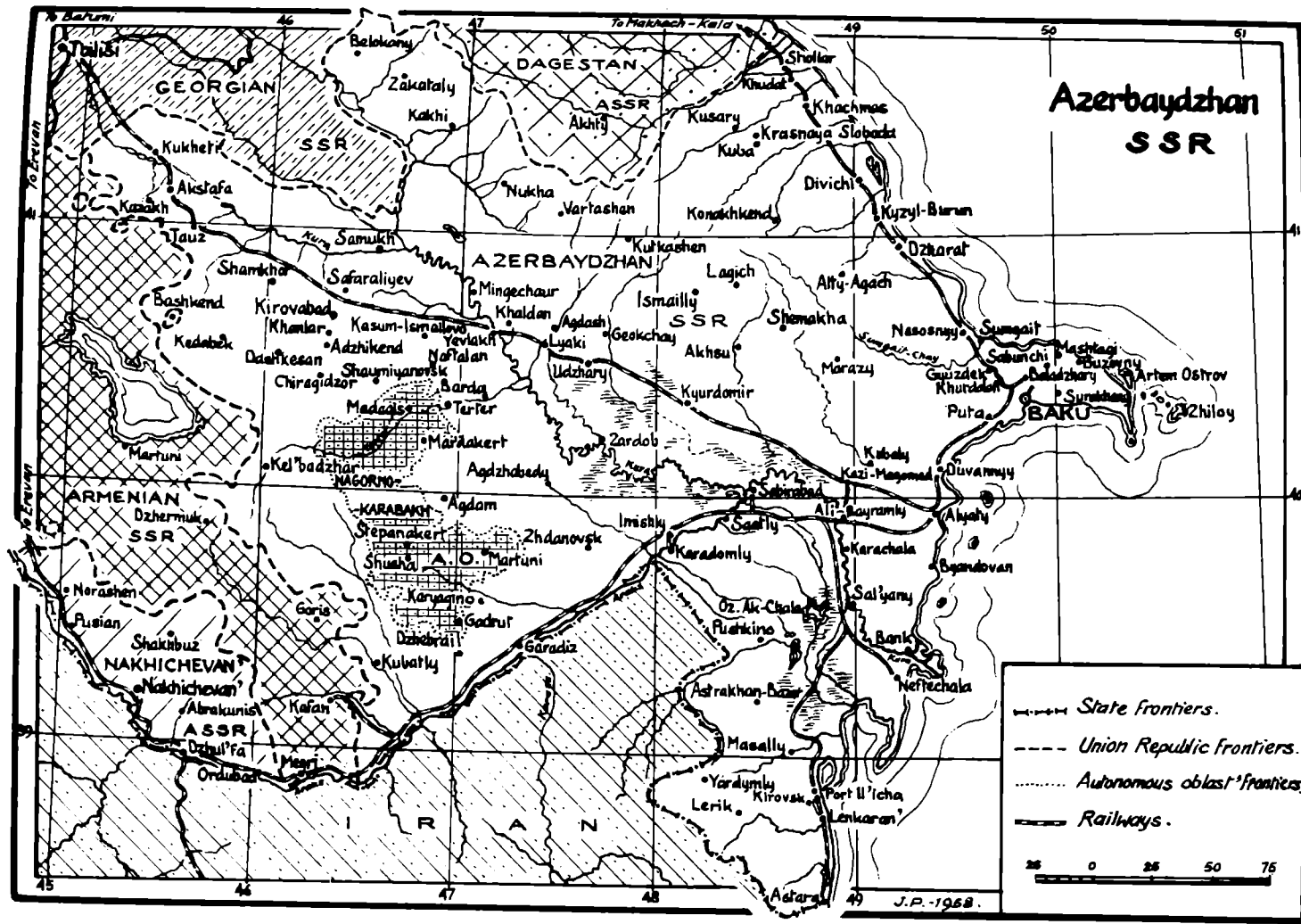
The abdication of Nicolas II was not immediately followed by unrest in Transcaucasia, though in the course of 1917 the political parties of Azerbaydzhan, Armenia and Georgia became increasingly active. After its amalgamation in June 1917 with the Turkish Federalist Party the Musavat enjoyed the mass support of the Transcaucasian Muslims. The first year of the Revolution witnessed a futile attempt to unite Transcaucasia. The Transcaucasian Federal Republic was founded and, caught between Russia and Turkey, its diet proclaimed it independent in April 1918. But the existence of the Federation was foredoomed from the start and as the Turkish advance in Transcaucasia proceeded, it became clear how widely the interests of the pro-Turkish Muslims and anti-Turkish Christians diverged; the gap was made worse by the ancient hatred between the Armenians and Azerbaydzhanis which periodically resulted in massacres. This caused the Federation to dissolve into three republics, the Azerbaydzhani, Armenian and Georgian. The Azerbaydzhani National Council signed a treaty with Turkey, but mutual harmony soon became strained as the Turks aspired to controlling the native government. The withdrawal of the Turks from Transcaucasia after the Armistice of Mudros, in November 1918, left Azerbaydzhan isolated, compromised as it was in the eyes of the Allies by its pro-Turkish leanings. After the Turks the British under General Thomson occupied the country, but their relations with its government were far from good. The Allies supported Denikin, who had failed to win Transcaucasia for the Whites, and though in January 1920 the Allied Supreme Council in Paris recognized the independence of the Transcaucasian republics, it had no practical significance for them. When in August 1919 the British proceeded to evacuate Transcaucasia and a Turco-Russian agreement was concluded in the winter of 1919-20, the republics were doomed. The importance of their strategic position and natural resources, particularly the Baku oil, to devastated Russia was obvious. The Bolsheviks now resumed their activities and the Baku Committee was founded by Communists largely of Armenian descent; in February 1920 the Azerbaydzhani Communist Party was formally established. In April - May 1920 the Red Army overran Azerbaydzhan, but the consolidation of Soviet rule was postponed until the end of June by a rebellion directed by the Musavat, which broke out in Gandzha and spread all over the western part of the country.

### Soviet Azerbaydzhan

On 30th September 1920 the Azerbaydzhani government, which had been appointed by the Central Committee of the Azerbaydzhani Communist Party, signed a number



# Azerbaijani SSR



- - - - - State frontiers.  
 - - - - - Union Republic frontiers.  
 ..... Autonomous oblast' frontiers  
 = = = = = Railways.

25 0 25 50 75

J.P. 1968.



of treaties with Russia, by which it ceded to the government of the RSFSR full powers over the commissariats of War, Supply, Finance, Transport and Communication and all bodies dealing with the economic life of the country. On 12th March 1922 under Soviet inspiration the Transcaucasian Federation was established; it left to the three component republics a large degree of self-government which was subsequently severely restricted, especially when in December 1922 the Transcaucasian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic was established. Its purpose was to consolidate the union between the republics and to draw them closer to the RSFSR. Its economic and military affairs and its foreign relations were now firmly controlled by the Politburo. The formative period ended in 1936, when the new constitution of the USSR dissolved the federation and its three members became Soviet Socialist Republics directly incorporated in the USSR. The Nakhichevan' ASSR is regarded as a part of the Azerbaydzhan SSR although separated from it by the Armenian SSR.

The history of Azerbaydzhan under Soviet rule has two interpretations: the Soviet, which emphasizes its great economic and intellectual progress and the almost undisturbed harmony between the conqueror and the conquered, and the non-Soviet and therefore less known, which often contradicts the former and in any case provides a useful check. The Soviet version abounds in statistics after the fashion of the second edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia. According to this the development, for example, of industry and agriculture is impressive. Light and heavy industries have rapidly grown in the Soviet period. New industrial centres have appeared at KirovaBad (Gandzha), Nukha, Stepanakert, Nakhichevan', Lenkoran', Khachmas, etc., while Baku has greatly expanded. At the same time the old national crafts, like carpet-weaving and the production of silk textiles have received a new lease of life. The development of agriculture was stimulated by the extension of the irrigation system; here the most spectacular achievement was the construction of the Samur-Divichin canal before the last war; it is 107 km. long and irrigates an area of 60,000 ha. By 1940 cotton had become the main crop of the republic, as compared with 1913 the area of land under cotton increased 70 per cent. In 1929 collectivization started and though it is admitted that "some local controllers (rukovoditeli) committed errors which had a strong effect on the process of establishing the kolkhozes"(3), by 1933 the kolkhozes absorbed 51.7 per cent of all peasant lands and by 1940, 98.39 per cent. The expansion of the health services was no less spectacular, although exact figures are not available. Education rapidly grew, though the available figures are now somewhat out of date. In 1914-15 Azerbaydzhan had 15 middle schools, by 1955-6 their number had increased to 751; at the same time there were 14 VUZ and 79 tekhnikums.

The story of collectivization would be incomplete without a mention of events which attended it. Throughout its enforcement in 1929-32, uprisings took place and they seem to have done what could not be done before - they united the population irrespective of race and religion in

the struggle against the system. There were incidents when a Christian priest blessed Muslim insurrectionists and an Azerbaydzhani mulla administered the oath to Armenian partisans.(4) As the practice of Islam and its clergy were persecuted in the 1920s, the revolt against collectivization was largely led by Muslim clergy and thus received the flavour of a holy war. The establishment of kolkhozes helped the authorities to convert mosques into warehouses, bars etc., the only exceptions being the famous Tazepir mosque in Baku, which became a library, and the Shah Abbas mosque of Gandzha which was converted into a museum.

An interesting aspect of Soviet rule in Azerbaydzhan is the attempt, which has close parallels in Central Asia, to shatter the national unity of the Azerbaydzhanis and to sever their link with the other Turkic peoples. In 1920 Azerbaydzhani Muslims and Armenians, who may be regarded as natives, constituted 82.49 per cent of the population, but in 1936 only 60.2 per cent, while the proportion of Russians from 2.5 per cent in 1920 grew to 12.5 per cent, and by 1939 to 16 per cent.(5) Another reason for the sharp decrease in the proportion of natives was the Soviet national minorities policy. The Azerbaydzhani Academy of Sciences was employed to provide the so-called "historical nations" of Azerbaydzhan, small and indistinct groups such as the Cheks and Habits, with alphabets, a literature, grammar and history of their own; it was emphasized that they had been swamped by Azerbaydzhani Turkic "imperialism" and their number was estimated at as much as 13 national groups. By 1936 the task of establishing these nationalities advanced so far that it was officially claimed that they constituted 14.9 per cent of the population.

Among the many cultural innovations introduced into the life of Azerbaydzhan since the Revolution, linguistic reform is one of the most important. Of all the Turkic languages used in the USSR, Azerbaydzhan is the most developed and has been strongly influenced by Persian and by the Turkish of Turkey. The introduction in 1924 of a latin alphabet and in 1940 of cyrillic, and the use of a large Russian loan vocabulary has tended to cut it off from older and more natural influences. Recent orthographic changes, however, suggest that there is considerable resistance to russianization (see article on p.139 of this issue).

How far Soviet policy has been successful in Azerbaydzhan it is difficult to say with precision. Economic development has been very considerable, but in 1951 Bagirov, then First Secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaydzhan, spoke of the existence of "political deviations" and "secret anti-government activities by enemies of the people". Bagirov himself was executed in April 1956.(6)

Sources

1. Articles on Azerbaydzhan in BOL'SHAYA SOVETSKAYA ENTSIKLOPEDIYA, 1st and 2nd editions.
2. AZERBAYDZHANSKAYA SSR, EKONOMIKO-GEOGRAFIЧЕСKAYA KHARAKTERISTIKA, Moscow, 1957.
3. THE FORMATION OF THE SOVIET UNION: COMMUNISM AND NATIONALISM, 1917-1923. Richard Pipes, Cambridge, Mass., 1954.
4. THE STRUGGLE FOR TRANSCAUCASIA (1917-1921). Firuz Kazemzadeh. London-New York, 1951.
5. "The Never-Ending Terror in Azerbaydzhan", THE CAUCASUS, Munich, August 1951.
6. "Soviet Nationality Policy in Azerbaydzhan". Mirza Bala, CAUCASIAN REVIEW, No.4, Munich, 1957.

Notes

- (1) This interpretation, found in the article on Central Asia in BOL'SHAYA SOVETSKAYA ENTSIKLOPEDIYA, 2nd edn., was changed in 1956: see CAR, Vol.2, No.1, "Nationalism and Progress".
- (2) AZERBAYDZHANSKAYA SSR, Moscow, 1957, p.14.
- (3) Ibid., p.26.
- (4) THE CAUCASUS, Nos. 2-3, 1951, pp. 3-5.
- (5) CAUCASIAN REVIEW, No.4, 1957, p.29; BOL'SHAYA SOVETSKAYA ENTSIKLOPEDIA, 2nd edn., Vol.1, p.440.
- (6) THE CAUCASUS, op.cit., p.5.

R E C E N T   C H A N G E S   I N   T H E   O R T H O G R A P H Y  
O F   T H E  
S O V I E T   A Z E R B A Y D Z H A N I   L A N G U A G E

by

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In this article photography has been substituted for our usual method of printing in order that the Azerbaydzhani alphabet could be reproduced.

. . .

I

On the 1st January 1959 certain modifications in the orthography of the Azerbaydzhani language, previously decreed by the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaydzhani SSR, came into force.

An account of the major changes is given in an article in the Azerbaydzhani language newspaper KOMMUNIST of 11th September 1958. (1) This summarizes, and at the same time adds a few details to, the official and newly published book on the subject. (2)

A discussion of the more important changes is given in the following paragraphs.

The new rules of orthography are, like the previous ones, based on phonetics, morphology and traditional usage. They have become necessary in order to correct the various errors, out-moded conceptions and exceptional forms in the previous spelling and to regularize the orthography of words adopted and created in the last few years.

Certain aspects of the rules are of relatively minor significance. Such are those dealing with the use of capital letters in proper names or compound names of institutions, syllabic division for typographical purposes, and the use of the apostrophe indicating, generally, the Arabic  $\xi$  in loanwords. In fact it may be said that many of these rules have for many years been in force in the language; the new ones are presumably an attempt to standardize already existing practices.

## II. Phonetics and Tradition

Since the new rules are based on phonetics, morphology and tradition it is clear that there has to be a certain measure of compromise; pronunciation may differ from dialect to dialect but one standard spelling is desirable for the literary language. The rules drawn up deal with the common variations in speech sounds in different positions in the word and lay down the standard orthography. This, for the most part, conforms to that already obtaining in the literary language and dictionaries. (3)

In the following examples the first variant given is now the accepted literary form:

(1) Consonants: д/т, дикмек ( T.T. dikmek), булуд ( T.T. bulut).  
 s/c, элмас ( T.T. elmas). в/м, анбар ( T.T. anbar). г/р, most

non-Arabic loanwords use r and vice-versa, but вағзал ( R. воҳзал) and мағаза ( T.T. mağaza) are exceptions. к/к/j, бөйүк ( T.T. büyük), г/ғ/x, ярпаг ( T.T. yaprak). ч/ч/х/ш, ағач, ( T.T. ağaç).

(ii) Vowels: ә/и, кеймек ( T.T. giymek), нәһаят ( T.T. nihayet), ө/е/о/ү/ә, дөвләт ( T.T. devlet). и/ә, гираәт ( T.T. kiraat). ү/и, һүчүм ( T.T. hücum).

The element of compromise is also clearly apparent in the changes affecting certain Russian loanwords. These changes are of great general interest.

In order to make the unstressed 'o' (phonetically 'a' or 'ə') in Russian conform to a more phonetic orthography in Azerbaydzhani, a great break with tradition has been made. The new Azerbaydzhani forms are to be spelled with 'a'. Thus, Одесса is now to be Адесса, Толстой becomes Талстој, Москва becomes Масква, пароход becomes параход and концерт, кансерт.

Nevertheless not all Russian words with unstressed 'o' are to be treated in this way. Exceptions, specifically mentioned in the book, in which the written 'o' is retained are:

(i) большевик, колхоз, комитә, коммуна, коммунист, комсомол, совет, совхоз. It should be noted that not all such politico-social words retain 'o'; коллектив, камбајн, командир and камендант and others conform to the new rule.

(ii) various scientific words such as: астрономија, агроном, диалектологија, биоложија.

(iii) certain words in which the pronunciation as well as the written form is in 'o', although in cognates and derivatives a shift in stress has led to the unstressed sound. Комие, for example, is pronounced with 'o', but комедија is pronounced



with 'a'; both, however, are to be written with 'o'.

Certain loanwords ending in 'a' have the final letter removed if the meaning is thereby unchanged: **анкет** ( R. анкета), **аптек** ( R. аптека), **газет** ( R. газета), **машины** ( R. машина). These forms without 'a' are already found in dictionaries.

The 'a' is retained if, by removal, the meaning would be unclear or changed in significance. Thus, **ботаника** and **техника** are not to be confused with **ботаник** and **техник**. Words of the **норма**, **форма** type also retain the 'a'.

### III. Rules affecting Morphology

The most significant of the rules affecting morphology is to be found in the regularization of the declension of certain nouns. These nouns, ending in a vowel, which were originally derived from Arabic words mainly ending in final  $\xi$ , are now to have the genitive, dative and accusative case suffixes and the third person possessive suffix of the standard 'ата' type of declension. Thus: **мөвзү** ( T.T. mevzu) will now have the forms **мөвзүнүн** (instead of **мөвзүүн**: T.T. mevzuun), **мөвзүжә** (instead of **мөвзүә**: T.T. mevzua), **мөвзүңү** (instead of **мөвзүү**: T.T. mevzuu) and **онун мөвзүсү** (instead of **онун мөвзүү**: T.T. onun mevzuu). (4) While most nouns of the same type are treated in the same way, three exceptions, **мәнафә** ( T.T. menafi), **мәнбә** ( T.T. menba) and **мәншә** ( T.T. menşe:  $\text{منشأ}$  ) have the third person possessive suffix **ји** instead of **си**. These forms will thus be of the pattern: **онун мәнафәји** ( T.T. onun menafii), **чајин мәнбәји** ( T.T. çayın menbai) and **дилин мәншәји** ( T.T. dilin menşei).

Other morphological changes are of a relatively minor importance. They deal with the rules for the joining or hyphenating of compound words.

#### IV. Abolition of certain Russian Characters

The most striking feature of the new rules of orthography is the abolition of the characters й, я, ю and ь from the Azerbaydzhani alphabet.

This change is reported in the article in KOMMUNIST as follows: "The letters я, ю and ь [sic] have been removed from the Azerbaydzhani alphabet by the decree of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaydzhan SSR. As for the letter ь, its function has been changed. This letter will henceforth be used as the letter expressing the sound of ь". In the book, however, no mention of the abolition of these letters is made at all; the book is written in the new orthography, the new table of the alphabet is given, and the reader is presented with the fait accompli.

Й is replaced by the Latin character 'j' (small letter dotted, capital undotted). As a corollary of this, the 'jotated' characters я ( = й + а ) and ю ( = й + у ) are replaced by ja and jy respectively; and the jotated close ь ( = й + ь ) loses its initial jotation and is to be used to replace the ь which is thus no longer required. The following examples show some typical words in the new orthography:

j instead of й: јолдаш, бејук, гијмет, јуксак, эемијјет

ja instead of я: јанвар, јакши, кимја, Микајан

jy instead of ю: гују, Нју-Јорк, ијул ( Р. июль )

je instead of е: јени, једди, јер

e instead of э: Естонија, етмек, е'лан, електрик

As a result of these changes of character, the Azerbaydzhani alphabet now lacks no less than eight of the thirty-two letters of the standard Russian alphabet. There is also a slight change in the order of the characters, for и and j are now placed in the twelfth and thirteenth places respectively, between и and к. (2)(5)

These changes do not necessarily imply that Russification of the language by importation of Russian words will decline. They do mean, however, that the difference in appearance between Azerbaydzhani and its Turkic neighbours has been greatly increased.

#### Notes

- (1) Unsigned article: «Азербайчан Дилинин Орфография Гайдалары»  
наггында. (Concerning 'The Orthographic Rules of the  
Azerbaydzhani Language')
- (2) АЗЭРБАЙЧАН ДИЛИНИН ОРФОГРАФИЈА ГАЈДАЛАРЫ, Баки, 1958.  
(The Orthographic Rules of the Azerbaydzhani Language)
- (3) h. нусейнов: АЗЭРБАЙЧАНЧА-РУСЧА ЛУФӨТ, Баки, 1941.  
(Azerbaydzhani-Russian Dictionary)  
АЗЭРБАЙЧАНЧА-РУСЧА ЛУФӨТ, Баки, 1951.  
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(Russian-Azerbaydzhani Dictionary, Vol. I)
- (4) L. Peters: GRAMMATIK DER TÜRKISCHEN SPRACHE, Berlin, 1947,  
pp. 26, 28.
- (5) C. G. Simpson: THE TURKISH LANGUAGE OF SOVIET AZERBAIJAN,  
London, 1957, pp. 1, 2.

C O N S U M E R   G O O D S   I N  
C E N T R A L   A S I A

General remarks - Sales organization - Demand and supply -  
Availability and quality - Luxury goods - Household goods -  
Amenity goods.

General remarks

The following article has been compiled from the daily press of Central Asia and Kazakhstan for the years 1956-8 and though the information it contains is accurate so far as the available material allows, it makes no claim to be authoritative owing to the limitations of the above-mentioned source. Research of this kind is gravely hindered by the fact that hardly any information on wages is obtainable, so that practically nothing can be added to the article on wages in Central Asia, which appeared in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.III, No.3, and the relation of wages to prices remains a mystery. On the other hand, it is possible that the available information on prices is not altogether reliable as it is derived from the lists of goods offered as prizes by the republican lotteries; these lists give the value of each article but it is unknown whether its price in the retail trade is the same.

It is obvious that since 1955 the real value of wages must have risen a good deal. This fact is borne out by continually increasing sales and the growing demand for high-quality goods and luxuries, which exceeds supply. This development is most striking in the rural areas, but information on the financial situation of the urban population and industrial workers is much more elusive so that, apart from some special cases, it is impossible to say what category among them buys the much admired Moskvich cars and Temp-2 television sets. It is also impossible to say in what proportions purchase is distributed among the native and settler populations: there is, for instance, an increasing demand for furniture which may be bought largely by the settlers. If it is bought to any extent by the native population, this might indicate russianization and change, rather than a rising standard of living. It is clear that all the population, both native and settler, has more money to spend; but the choice of what to spend it on is still limited; goods are on the whole expensive and often of poor quality - facts of which the authorities are fully aware and doing their best to overcome.

Sales organization

The bulk of trade within the republics is concentrated in the hands of two organizations, the consumers' cooperatives and the state-owned trading establishments. The responsibilities of both roughly fall into three divisions: sale of goods of all descriptions from matches to building materials, public catering including establishments like bakeries, and finally

the purchase of agricultural produce and raw materials. A voluntary surcharge which patches up the manifold defects of this network is officially described as "speculation". It appears that the "speculators" derive a handsome profit from the sale of goods difficult to obtain in the orthodox way and occasionally they are even capable of disorganizing local trade, which they do usually without any interference on the part of the police. For example, when children's shoes were received by the Frunze "Detskiy Mir" (children's wear), speculators bought up the whole stock and offered it for sale at twice the original price; the matter was ignored by the police.(1)

### Demand and supply

Information on the state-owned shops is very scarce and figures summarizing the internal trade are available mostly for the cooperatives alone or for both networks combined. They suggest a considerable increase in wages since 1955. Tadzhikistan may well be quoted as an example (see table below), not because it is in any way unusual, but because the most complete set of figures relating to consumer goods is available for this republic. Here the increase in the sales of the more expensive textiles is impressive when compared with that of cotton fabrics, especially as it had taken place within one year only, 1956 as contrasted with 1955. This is the more astonishing when one compares it with the figures for the whole of the Soviet Union in a corresponding period. The figures for 1958 show a further growth of demand for consumer goods in Tadzhikistan.

Commodity	1956 in Tadzhikistan (against 1955) per cent	1956 in USSR (against 1955) per cent	1958 in Tadzhikistan (against 1955) per cent
Cotton materials	9	-	-
Woollen fabrics	100	32	119
Silk materials	62	22	75
Ready-made clothes	35	11	106
Leather footwear	52.8	15	53

At the same time, by 1958 as compared with 1955, the sale of refrigerators increased fourfold and that of wireless sets twofold.(2) Finally, in comparison with the pre-war year 1940, the turnover of the state and cooperative shops in Tadzhikistan had trebled by 1957.(3) This expansion is most impressive in country areas and it is ascribed to two main factors: the increase of wages in kolkhozes and the rising standard of taste in their members. For the latter development the new educational policy of the Government is responsible.(4) KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA of 10.1.58, for instance, states that the intellectual standard of the Vakhsh valley agricultural workers has undergone a profound change; nearly half the kolkhozniks have received middle or seven-year-school

education and large numbers of young people holding matriculation certificates come to work there. The result is that the demand for serious literature keeps growing, and not only do local libraries expand but there is no home without its collection of books.

The growth of demand for high-quality goods is much more marked in the countryside than in town, particularly in the case of the so-called amenity goods (kulturno-bytovyye) and domestic goods. The first group includes cars, cycles, wireless sets, musical instruments etc. The press writes more often about kolkhoz workers buying cars and motor cycles than about employees of other industries, though it is clear that the kolkhozes described are exceptional, and not representative of other similar establishments. For example, TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 12.10.58, tells of one kolkhoz, among whose employees are 27 Heroes of Socialist Labour and 548 holders of various decorations, where there are 25 motor-cycles, 180 bicycles, over 100 sewing-machines and 200 wireless sets.

The distribution of goods among village shops is notoriously bad. Goods may be sent without reference to local needs with the result that they needlessly accumulate in one place while there is a shortage elsewhere, and cases like the one reported by SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA of 12.4.58 are by no means rare. The Kenes-Anarkhay sel'po (village shop) in the Frunze oblast received a large consignment of fine stockings and fashionable shoes though its customers - tractor drivers and cattle breeders - have so little need of them that the amount supplied is enough for five years; at the same time they would be much appreciated elsewhere. The village shop although overstocked with unwanted goods may be unable to offer to the consumer the bare necessities of life which, on the other hand, may be lying in large quantities in the district warehouse. Nevertheless some shops easily achieve their sales targets, like the Komsomolabad rayon shop denounced by KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA of 26.2.57, whose sales reached the expected figure owing to the fact that its food department had plenty of vodka though hardly anything else. Finally there are cases of supplies organized without any sense at all - one shop may receive all the electric torches in possession of the warehouse while all the batteries for them go to another shop far away. This state of affairs, however, is not entirely devoid of certain virtues of its own and the inadequate supply of consumer goods can serve as an encouragement in the drive for increased cotton output. PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 16.5.58 reports that goods much in demand, like velvet, velveteen, plush and shawls, are sold by some sovkhos and rayon shops only to those agricultural workers whose work is particularly good. The paper adds approvingly, "This way of trading is a good stimulus to the cotton growers".

All these difficulties are nevertheless insufficient to discourage the expansion of trade in the countryside. Sometimes difficult geographical conditions are an additional hindrance - parts of the remote Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous oblast are accessible for only a few months in the year and during these they must receive goods for the whole year. Bearing in mind this as

well as other difficulties in trade in the rural areas it is interesting to compare the increase in sales in the above oblast with that in some towns. Thus in 1956 as contrasted with 1955, the total sales grew in the oblast by 14.3 per cent, while the corresponding figure for Stalinabad is 11.6 per cent and for the Leninabad oblast 6.9 per cent.(5) Though light industry and the volume of trade keep growing, the demand of the countryside for consumer goods is far from being satisfied. PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 16.5.58 says that though in 1957, compared with 1953, the rural population bought three times more furniture, four times more watches and clocks, and nearly three times more woollen materials, while the sale of books, cameras, musical instruments, bicycles, wireless sets etc. markedly increased, they would buy still more if they could get it. The situation in Kirgizia is similar, and SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA of 15.1.58 sees one of the reasons for this in the growing enlightenment of the kolkhozes. It enumerates the goods sold to the kolkhozniks by the shops of the Aravan rayon and here the most interesting item is the reference to furniture, with forty wardrobes sold to the kolkhozniks as evidence of their growing "culture". Certainly it is not without significance in a country whose population lives or used to live with hardly any furniture at all, but there is a possibility that the wardrobes might have been bought by settlers from European Russia.

In Kazakhstan the additional cause for the expansion of trade in the countryside is the land reclamation scheme which is opening up new areas of settlement; in Turkmenistan the same process is accompanying the building of the Kara-Kum Canal.

#### Availability and quality.(6)

Shops in cities offer a wide choice of the more expensive textiles, particularly silk, but a great difficulty here is the acute shortage of tailors and dressmakers. The situation is much worse in the country, for in large towns the authorities try to remedy it by opening "Social service kombinats" (kombinaty bytovogo obsluzhivaniya), where one can not only have clothes made to order but also send them for dry cleaning; there are also specialist work-shops in the kombinat who repair clocks and watches, wireless sets, vacuum-cleaners and a variety of other objects. Another method of increasing the sale of materials is provided by some large textile shops in towns, where the customers may have their material cut by experts so that they take it home ready to sew. This comes in very useful, for ready-made clothes are scarce and their quality is often bad. There are frequent complaints in the press that women's clothes are old-fashioned, and have ugly colours and designs. The quality of their fabrics and manufacture tends to be poor. In SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA of 11.12.57 an article with the significant title "Dorogo i Gnilo" (Expensive and Rotten) complained that shops in Osh have had and expensive clothes. They are manufactured by the Gayrat clothing factory which in order to carry out its production quota often does not provide its goods

with labels showing the price of the garment and the quality of material used. This helps to raise the price so that, for example, a man's shirt worth 72 rubles sells for 96. A number of other factories cheat the customer in this manner. TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 9.3.58 adds that though Turkmenistan has more clothing factories than necessary, they are often unsatisfactory for not only can the customer not buy clothes in the style, size and colour he wants, but they are badly made - seams are sometimes left unfinished and the length of an overcoat is uneven. This is the practice in the largest Tadjik clothing factory at Ashkhabad, and in the early months of 1958, 562 out of the 847 garments it made were defective, and all jackets and men's summer coats were below the required standard. The same paper of 5.8.58 adds that the No. 12 shop at Kum-Dag has for sale a woman's dress priced 109 rubles, with the front of the skirt at the back. The dress, as well as its unusual companion - a pair of shoes in which each shoe is of a different size - have been made in Ashkhabad. The situation, however, is not so grim everywhere - SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA of 13.12.57 states that some clothing factories are paying more attention to fashion and the VLKSM factory at Frunze employs specialists who prepare new models for mass production; they consider the public taste for quiet colours and soft fabrics. PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 21.9.58 adds that in the first half of 1959 eighty-one new models in up-to-date styles will be mass-produced. It seems that the sack dress is now becoming popular in Tashkent, the reason being that its simple cut resembles the national Uzbek dress. But otherwise good-looking clothes are occasionally spoiled by the poor quality of articles like buttons and zips whose colour, moreover, does not match that of the material.

Children's clothes and shoes are scarce in all republics, in rural areas as well as in towns. This applies to every-day clothes as well as those for high-days and holidays. Here it is interesting to note the popular preference for velvet suits, plush coats and the immortal sailor-suits for boys and girls. In spite of the fact that "children are our future and our happiness", cots, high-chairs and other children's furniture are very scarce or even unobtainable.

Finally there are interesting references to national costumes. It appears that the 1958 spring and summer collection shown by the Tashkent House of Models contained models in the Uzbek style.(7) The new department store in Stalin Street at Frunze has a separate department for Kirgiz dress.(8)

Little information on shoes is available but it is obvious that the demand for them, whether leather, rubber or fabric, exceeds supply; choice of styles is limited and the quality not very high.

### Luxury goods

Little information on the jewellery and cosmetic trade is supplied. The occasional references to jewellery, apart from watches, are just enough



to learn that it exists at all. As for watches, it seems that they are regarded as a luxury rather than a necessity. Men's and ladies' gold watches cost 1,265 and 850 rubles respectively, and plain metal ones between 280 and 550 rubles.

The information on cosmetics which the daily press yields, is more interesting for it shows how utterly ignorant their consumers are in this particular respect. For example a person no less than a doctor was employed to write an article for TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 2.8.58 on how to choose and use face powder (the only discussion of such a frivolous subject found in the papers used for this article). As for other "beauty aids", it appears that hair dyes and some very basic and innocent creams like lanolin are used, as well as quite a wide selection of scent. Turkmenistan seems to be the most progressive of the Central Asian republics in this respect - TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 28.11.56 even announces that the Novyy Put' artel has opened a beauty salon "for the care of the complexion and removal of tatoo-marks."

Even more interesting than the question of cosmetics is that of souvenirs and fancy goods. There are mentions of china and cut glass goblets, vases, bowls, statuettes etc., but no further information is supplied. Popular taste does not seem to have advanced far since the nineteenth century; a fact of which TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 9.12.56 bitterly complains. It says that privately produced cards sold in the streets of Ashkhabad are much in demand in spite - or because - of the things they show. The list of subjects includes "handsome young men with silly smiles and greased hair, bosomy beauties in languid poses, gardens of delight and imaginary swans". What is worse, the Novyy Put' artel opened an engraving shop which sells glass and china goods with inscriptions whose language and spelling are often atrocious and sense absurd. It is interesting to compare these denounced objects with the sort of souvenirs KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA of 3.1.58. wants to see offered by the shops of Alma-Ata to visitors coming to "sunny Kazakhstan". They should be able to buy pin-cushions, cases for newspapers, ornamental slippers to be hung on the wall and cushion cases, all these objects to be decorated with Kazakh national ornament or views of Alma-Ata and its environs. A more sane view is expressed by KOMMUNIST TADZHIKI STANA of 5.2.57 which discusses the need for increasing the range of folk-art so as to make it available to the public. It adds that a good start has already been made, for the Krasnyy Put' artel at Stalinabad produces pretty machine-embroidered wall hangings (suzaneh) and carpets are made by the Shirpotreb artel. The same paper of 17.5.58 adds that though Tadjik national goods are much in demand throughout the Soviet Union, embroidered skull-caps, jewellery and carpets are almost unobtainable.

#### Household goods

There is a shortage of household goods, particularly in country areas.

But in large cities the situation may be just as bad. PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 19.9.57 reports that though the shops in Tashkent offer smart tea-sets for over 2,000 rubles and dinner-sets for 5,000 rubles, one cannot buy dishes for everyday use like ordinary plates and saucers. The demand for wireless and television sets, refrigerators, vacuum-cleaners and floor-polishers keeps growing, but it is not clear who can afford to buy them - probably the well-to-do, as elsewhere, for the Rekord and Temp-3 television sets cost 1,850 and 2,600 rubles respectively. The MS-1.5 washing-machine costs 750 rubles, the price of a refrigerator is 1-2,000 rubles, the price of Lyuks and Druzhba radiograms 2,300 rubles, while a piano costs 5,265 and a television set 1,850-2,500 rubles. The purchase of cars and motor-cycles by private individuals is apparently so unusual that it is announced in the press. There are references to kolkhozniks and very occasionally to teachers buying them; on one occasion a train-driver and another railway-worker are mentioned. The price of a motor-cycle varies from 5-8,000 rubles and a Moskvich car (model 407) costs 25,000 rubles. Prices in themselves mean very little, unless related to wages, and owing to the paucity of information on wages it has not been possible to do this.

As apparently the demand for costly amenity goods surpasses the financial means of the customer, the authorities try other methods of making them more accessible to the public. PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 5.12.57 reports that a special shop has been opened in Tashkent where one can hire such goods. The shop keeps sewing- and washing-machines, vacuum-cleaners, gramophones, bicycles etc., and there is also a workshop in which objects returned by the customers are overhauled. Soon the range will be extended to include television sets, motor-cycles, tea- and dinner-sets, cameras, musical instruments, sports goods, carpets etc. It was the first such shop in Central Asia and on its success depended the opening of similar shops elsewhere in Uzbekistan. Apparently it proved popular for TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 10.9.58 announced the opening of a hire shop in Ashkhabad.

. . .

From what has been said above it is clear that the material prosperity of the Central Asian peoples is increasing, with a profound effect on internal trade which even the numerous shortcomings in its organization as well as the amount and quality of its goods cannot discourage. KOMMUNIST TADZHIK-ISTANA of 11.10.58 says: "It should, however, be emphasized that even this increased demand for various goods is low in proportion to the continually rising income of the kolkhozniks, industrial workers and other employees as well as sovkhos workers; the result is that the demand for consumer goods and those needed by establishments of productive work is not satisfied."

Notes

- (1) SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 8.10.57.
- (2) KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 13.3.57 and 11.10.58.
- (3) Ibid., 16.2.58.
- (4) See "Trends in Education in Central Asia", CAR, Vol.VII, No.1, pp. 14-20.
- (5) KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 13.3.57.
- (6) See also "Saving and Spending Habits - New Light on Living Standards", CAR, Vol.II, No.2 and "Development of Light Industry in Central Asia", Vol.III, No.4.
- (7) PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 23.3.58.
- (8) SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 16.7.57.

Prehistoric Remains in Kazakhstan

A prospecting party of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences has found a sandstone bed bearing the tracks of an amphibian species of the Carboniferous period which inhabited the earth over 300 m. years ago. Previously the most ancient traces found on Soviet territory were 240 m. years old.

SU. 1959, No. 1.

Traces of Prehistoric Man in Kazakhstan

Prehistoric stone implements have been found in the Karatau Mountains near Dzhambul, Kazakhstan. Previously such implements had been found inside the USSR only in the Caucasus. The nearest site of similar discoveries outside the USSR is in the Punjab. The implements are several hundreds of thousands of years old.

VOPROSY ISTORII, 1959, No. 1.

NEWS DIGEST

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The following items are taken from newspapers and periodicals received during the period 1st January - 31st March 1959. In this and future numbers of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW territorial changes will be confined to changes down to oblast and in the status of towns. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES

Administrative appointments

Turkmenistan

D.Karayev appointed First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Turkmen Communist Party in place of S. Babayev.

V.K. Akulintsev appointed Second Secretary of the Central Committee in place of N. Durdyeva.

Sh. Tashliyev appointed a Secretary of the Central Committee.  
 TI.21.1.59.

B.Ovezov appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers in place of D.Karayev.  
 TI.21.1.59.  
 I. 31.3.59.

G.A.Khorev appointed First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers.  
 TI.31.3.59.

Uzbekistan

Sh. R.Rashidov appointed First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party in place of S.K.Kamalov. Rashidov was previously Chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet.  
 P.15.3.59.

A.A.Alimov appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers in place of M.Z.Mirza-Akhmedov.  
 P.15.3.59.

A.N.Rudin appointed First Deputy Chairman and S.A.Azimov appointed Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers.  
 PV.26.3.59.

K.Kamalov appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR.  
 PV.34.59.

Tadzhikistan

N. Dodkhudoyev appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers in place of M. Rakhmatov.

A. V. Mazayev appointed First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers in place of Ye. I. Obykhov. KT. 29.3.59.

Kazakhstan

G. A. Mel'nik appointed First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

L. G. Mel'nikov appointed Chairman of the State Planning Commission. I. 28.3.59.

The following non-natives have recently been appointed to Cabinet posts:

A. P. Krotov	Minister of Construction
M. P. Karpenko	Minister of Grain Products
D. F. Kononenko	Minister of Communal Economy
A. Z. Zakarin	Minister of Foreign Affairs

KP. 31.12.58.

Territorial changesTadshikistan

By decree of the 16th March the town of Novabad (Garm rayon) has been changed into a settlement of town type. VVS. 2.4.59.

Kirgizia

By decree of the 27th January the Dzhahalal-Abad, Issyk-Kul' and Frunze oblasts have been abolished. The territory of the Dzhahalal-Abad oblast has been incorporated in the Osh oblast. The rayons formerly part of the Issyk-Kul' and Frunze oblasts together with the towns of Przheval'sk, Rybach'y'e, Talas and Tokmak have been made directly subordinate to republican organs of government. VVS. 19.2.59.

## THE ARTS

The Uzbek Festival of Art and Literature was held in Moscow in February. The last such festival was in 1951, and on that occasion five novels, four long short-stories and three collections of short stories were exhibited. This year a total of 400 new works were on show. S. Kamalov, then First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party,

gave a brief account of the scope of the Festival in PRAVDA. National theatres produced plays, operas and ballets. Folk art was well represented, and pictures and films exhibited.

The Festival received full and complimentary coverage in the Moscow and Central Asian press. One ballet, MASQUERADE, was reviewed separately (P.19.2.59.), every feature receiving praise; but the music (by a Russian, Lev Laputin) was criticized, though mildly, for containing too many styles.

Not until Sh.R. Rashidov, First Secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party, spoke on the 26th March before a meeting of "creative workers' organisations" was any more detailed criticism heard and his criticism, although called up by the subject of the Festival, was general.

In spite of previous statements that the theme of present-day life now dominates Uzbek literature Rashidov, on the contrary, said "creative workers have as yet not turned sufficiently far towards present-day themes". He went on to criticize writers' knowledge of the life of the workers.

Serious faults were to be found in Uzbek music, Rashidov continued. Certain composers were shy of approaching the solution of large thematic problems or of writing such large-scale works as symphonies. There was a shortage of good, joyous songs that might become popular, the training of vocalists and instrumentalists was also lagging behind.

Of the graphic arts Rashidov said that there were few paintings on display at the Festival which depicted workers, construction workers or collective farmers. The professional skill of some artists was still low.

PV. 14-15.2.59.

28.3.59.

P. 19.2.59.

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The following statistics have recently been published illustrating the advances made by women in Uzbekistan during the Soviet regime. The source makes a distinction between "women of Uzbekistan" (zhenshchiny Uzbekistana) and "Uzbek women" (zhenshchiny-Uzbekki). The former expression, presumably, includes non-native women living in Uzbekistan.

There are 131,800 women of Uzbekistan at work in all branches of industry as manual and office workers; 500 women chairmen and deputy chairmen of kolkhozes; over 200,000 women labour-team leaders (zven'yevyye); and 1,500 women with a higher education (i.e. university level) occupy executive posts in factories or work as engineers, economists and planners.

Fifty-seven kolkhoz workers have been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour; 107 women the title Honoured Doctor of the Republic;

1,231 women of Uzbekistan have been awarded the title of Heroine-Mother; and 39 women the title of People's Artist of the USSR and Uzbek SSR.

Sixteen Uzbek women have the degree of Doctor of Sciences and more than 400 are Candidates of Sciences; 54,000 women students are studying in the higher and special secondary educational establishments of the republic.

UZBEKISTAN, 1959, No.3.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaydzhan and the Council of Ministers recently discussed steps to be taken in order to carry out the resolution of the Central Committee and of the Council of Ministers of the USSR "on the participation of the workers in the safeguarding of public order in the country". The resolution had noted that at the present time "in conditions of the growth of consciousness and political activity of the workers and in conditions of the further development of Soviet democracy, the battle against amoral, anti-social acts must be carried out not only by administrative organs but through a wide involvement of workers and social organizations in the cause of the preservation of public order".

The following measures are to be taken in Azerbaydzhan:

- (1) The resolution is to be discussed at open Party meetings.
- (2) All organizations are to instill into young people the habit of observing discipline and the rules of conduct in the school and family, or in public and to organize for them clear elucidations of Soviet laws.
- (3) The responsible organizations are to "intensify their battle with anti-social phenomena", to make a practice of trying malicious infringers of public order publicly at their places of work, the trials to be so organized as to increase their educational character.
- (4) The propaganda of Soviet laws, norms of socialist society etc., are to be intensified in the press and the radio and television services.
- (5) Voluntary People's Brigades (dobrovol'nyye narodnyye druzhiny) are to be formed in towns and rayons. The best section of Komsomol members and of young people generally is to be encouraged to take part.

The brigades are to be formed "of progressive workers, employees, collective farmers, students, pupils and pensioners on a voluntary basis" and in their spare time. As a rule no member may be younger than 18. In their work they "are guided by the demands of Soviet laws and are under their protection". When an illegal action is taking place they have the right to demand that it should stop and, when necessary, to demand to see the offender's papers. They may then draw up a report for their local commander and, if necessary, bring the offender to their local headquarters, police-station or village soviet. The brigade

may then have the offender tried by his colleagues or pass the matter on to the courts, sending a representative to act as public prosecutor (obshchestvenny obvinitel'). In cases of necessity the facts in a particular case may be communicated to the press. BR. 4.4.59.

### CONFERENCES

A "Joint Scientific Session" of the Academies of Sciences of the USSR, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan and Kirgizia is shortly to be held in Tashkent to discuss the "progressive significance of the incorporation of Central Asia in Russia". The meeting has been heralded by a series of articles in the Central Asian press. The following is an attempt at a composite picture from these articles.

The incorporation is said to have had "objectively an immense progressive significance for the further political, economic and cultural development of the peoples of Central Asia". The main progressive consequence, however, was that it "connected for ever the fates of the peoples of Central Asia with that of the Russian people". From this all the other consequences, political, economic and cultural followed.

Prior to the incorporation Central Asia had been a feudal area in which the "most revolutionary class - the proletariat - was non-existent. Consequently there was no union between a working-class and the peasants". It was for this reason that the many revolts of the peoples of Central Asia against their feudal lords had failed.

As a result of the incorporation Marxism began to spread in Central Asia among the indigenous population, through the agency both of exiled Social Democrats and Bolsheviks from Baku. At the same time the feudal system began to give way to "the historically more advanced" state of capitalism. In the second half of the nineteenth century Turkestan developed from a market for Russian goods to an industrial area. This process was accelerated by the construction of railways (which the bourgeoisie were "forced" to build in their own interests), and accompanied by both a large-scale influx of Russian workers and the emergence of a native working-class. This native proletariat, however, was "at that period still few in numbers and unorganized and could not play a decisive role". In the alliance of the Russian and native working-classes and the native peasantry it was the Russian working-class (both in Central Asia and outside) and the peasants who played the main role in "the liberation of the oppressed peoples of Central Asia from the fetters of their double yoke [i.e., Tsarism and local feudalism.] This alliance, however, would have been useless had not "Russia, of all the countries of the world had the best revolutionary perspectives." This statement is supported by references to Marx and Engels intended to prove that they thought that a Russian revolution could cause a proletarian revolution in the West. "The revolution, Karl Marx pointed out, would begin this time in the East, i.e., in Russia".



During the second half of the nineteenth century Central Asia was internally weak, torn by wars between the khans which neither side was strong enough to bring to a conclusion, and was in danger of being conquered by British imperialists from India, by Turkey, Persia and other "feudal countries of the East which were stronger than the Central Asian khanates". [These other countries are not specified and it is difficult to see which countries could be intended. - Ed. CAR.] These powers had been sending numerous agents into Turkestan since the 1820's. During the Crimean War Britain had laid particular stress on her duty to defend Islam and Turkish interest in Turkestan. In the 1850-60's Britain was consolidating her position in Afghanistan and preparing for a war in Central Asia. Central Asia was saved from foreign imperialism by its incorporation into the Russian Empire.

"Tsarist policy in Central Asia was colonial, reactionary, predatory and aggressive". "Tsarism stirred up maniacal great-power chauvinism and local nationalism; it was indulgent towards the unleashing of bloody clashes between Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Turkmens and Kirgiz in order to weaken the solidarity of these nations in their struggle with Tsarism and their local feudal lords". "Tsarist policy in Central Asia sought to preserve her patriarchal and feudal system, to foster national differences, to suppress national culture, literature and education and to keep the masses of the people in colonial slavery without any rights. Tsarist Russia was a prison of the nations and Tsarism a hangman and tormentor of non-Russian peoples. The developing Russian capitalism under Tsarist disguise converted Turkestan into a market for its goods, a source of raw materials for Russian industry, and it derived great riches from the country." [Another article puts the question in a different light and says that in the nineteenth century Central Asia received from Russia "industrial goods which were essential to her". - Ed. CAR.]

The apparent contradiction between these statements and the premise that the incorporation was progressive is solved by the following formulations:

- (1) Whatever good came out of the incorporation happened in spite of Tsarism. "Under the influence of Russia, but against the will and the rapacious colonial policy of Tsarism, important positive changes took place in the social, economic, political and intellectual life of the Central Asian peoples". This, presumably, applies even to the abolition of slavery, although the author says "in 1886 the Russian authorities freed more than 10,000 slaves in the city and surroundings of Samarkand alone".
- (2) The peoples of Central Asia were united not with Tsarism but with the great Russian people. "The friendship of the peoples of Central Asia and the great Russian people has its roots in deep antiquity." The incorporation of

Central Asia into Russia merely helped further to strengthen and widen this friendship. Tsarism was as hostile to the Russian people as to the peoples of Central Asia.

This unity with the great Russian people is taken also to include unity with Russian "advanced, progressive culture", i.e. Herten, Belinskiy, Dobrolyubov, Sechenov, Mendeleev, Turgenyev, Tolstoy, Chernyshevskiy and Plekhanov. Russian engineers, scientists, officers of border units (sic), employed local peasants in eastern Bukhara and, besides treating and paying them well, taught them to grow potatoes, cabbage and tomatoes. The ideals and ideas of advanced Russian culture, expressed in the works of such writers as Abay, Ayni, Furkat, Toktogul Satylganov etc., counterbalanced the pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic ideologies of the feudal lords and reactionary strata of the national bourgeoisie who were also fighting against Tsarism but "for the chance of exploiting the people on their own".

From the advance publicity it appears that the conference is not only intended to emphasize the superior role in the Revolution of the Russian people ("the elder brother") but also is an attempt to solve the contradiction between Lenin's dictum that Tsarist Russia was "a prison of the nations" and recent Soviet insistence that the incorporation was progressive. This difficulty is solved by the thesis that the peoples of Central Asia were united to the great Russian people with whom they had ancient friendships and that this unification enabled them to share the benefits of the Revolution and the Soviet way of life.

Although this thesis is not incompatible in strict logic with an admission that the peoples of Central Asia were even worse off under Tsarism and feudalism than under feudalism alone, the writers' opinions on this point seem divided. Some state that the incorporation in Russia led to some immediate advantages (an increased supply of industrial goods, the abolition of slavery etc.), but that these took place against the will of Tsarism, others emphasize more the "double yoke" (dvoynoy gnet) under which the peasant laboured after the incorporation.

The following papers will be read at the conference according to the latest newspaper reports:

S.A. Radzhabov (Tad.): The Problem of the Incorporation of Central Asia in Russia.

A.V. Pyaskovskiy (Moscow): The Participation of the Peoples of Central Asia in the Revolutionary Battle of the Russian People is the Most Important Progressive Consequence of the Incorporation of Central Asia in Russia.

Sh. T. Tashliyev. (Ashkhabad): The Great October Revolution is the Most Important Turning-Point in the Fates of the Peoples of Central Asia.

A.M. Aminov (Tashkent) will deal with problems of the development of industry and agriculture.

A.A. Altmysbayer (Kirg.): The Cultural Revolution in the Republics of Central Asia is one of the Most Important Results of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

I.I. Mints will deal with the international significance of the victory of socialism in the republics of Central Asia.

More than 80 scholars from all over the USSR have expressed their desire to take part in the conference. No date has yet been set.

KT. 25.2.59, 4.3.59, 13.3.59;

PV. 19.2.59; TI. 21.2.59.

#### DELEGATIONS

An Iraqi government delegation, headed by Dr. Ibragim Kubba, Minister of Economics, visited Tashkent on 3rd March. It was received by the then chairman of the Council of Ministers, M.Z. Mirza-Akhmedov. On the 5th March the delegation left for Baku, where it was received by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, V.Yu. Akhundov. The delegation left for Moscow on the 6th. While in Central Asia the delegation "acquainted themselves with the life of the republics".

P. 4.3.59; PV. 4,5,6.3.59;

HR. 6,7.3.59.

Trade union delegates from Asia, invited to Moscow to take part in the XIIth Trade Unions' Congress, have visited Tashkent. They include Rashid, Bambang, Kusnavidivo and Niono from Indonesia, Gunesa and his wife from India, and Silva and Virovakh from Ceylon. The delegates visited factories, theatres and museums. PV. 24.3.59.

#### LINGUISTICS

In his book NEKOTORYYE PEREZHITKI PROSHLOGO V SOZNANII LYUDEY V SREDNEY AZII I ROL' SOTSIALISTICHESKOY KUL'TURY V BOR'BE S NIMI (Frunze, 1958), A. Altmysbayer accused linguists in certain republics of Central Asia, including Kirgizia, of conservatism and national rigidity because of their mistake in framing the rules of Kirgiz orthography. The mistake in question was the rule concerning words which had entered Kirgiz orally through Russian or other languages but which had changed their original form and had long been part of the Kirgiz vocabulary. This rule allows such words to be written as pronounced in Kirgiz and permits the Russian spelling as an alternative in cases where the Kirgiz pronunciation, phonetic composition and meaning are close to that of the Russian word; for example, the Kirgiz word iret (order: from the Russian ryad; "row" or "rank") is not spelt ryad; samoor, however, may be spelt samovar; Kerebet may be spelt kpovat (Russian, bed). Altmysbayer would have all such words without exception spelt as in Russian, claiming that the present rules are "slowing down the development of Kirgiz

Soviet culture". [It is worth noting that the present rules, quoted above, which date from 1955, represent a significant relaxation of the rules adopted in 1953 according to which Russian words used in Kirgiz before the Revolution also were to be spelt as in Russian (see CAR, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 48-49). Altmyshbayev appears to be going back to the position as it was before 1955. Ed. CAR/

In an article in SK of 15.2.59. Dr. B. Yunusaliyev challenges Altmyshbayev's position. Although he is obviously aware of the problem that would be caused by making spelling coincide in cases where meaning has changed (for example if the Kirgiz word iret were to be spelt ryad, although it bears a different meaning from the Russian word ryad he does not pay much attention to this aspect of the problem. He points out that the words borrowed from Russian have each become the roots of a family of words so that to change the spelling of the root would mean changing the spelling of the words derived from it, sometimes to such an extent that they would become unrecognizable; for example, irette would become ryadda and would, therefore, change not only its orthography but its pronunciation. This would be "an act of violence on the language and the people speaking it."

Yunusaliyev concedes that words borrowed not orally but in written form (i.e. after the formation of the Kirgiz literary language) may properly be written as in Russian, but only because they have preserved in Kirgiz their Russian phonetical form.

Yunusaliyev accuses Altmyshbayev by implication either of local partiality or of ignorance of Kirgiz dialectology because whenever he prefers a particular word or form as "modern" it is always the word or form used in his own native dialect.

Yunusaliyev remarks that Altmyshbayev's method of criticism of his opponents is reminiscent of "those melancholy times when... a group of extremely vociferous critics, using ringing phrases, ... made political accusations against their opponents." The only change was in the choice of epithets; formerly they had been "opportunism" and "nationalism"; now they had been reduced to one - "conservatism".

. . .

Within the USSR the opinion has been expressed that before the Revolution the Kirgiz, as they used the Arabic character and had no alphabet of their own, did not have their own written language (pis'mennost'). Literate Kirgiz, according to this opinion, wrote not in their own language but in Old Uzbek (Chagatay), as the existing orthography (i.e. the Arabic character) was inadequate to express many peculiarities of the Kirgiz language.

K. K. Yudakhin (Frunze) in a note on work in progress (VOPROSY YAZ-YKOZNIANIYA, 1959, No. 1) argues against this opinion, remarking that one could on the same grounds logically hold that no people which use the Arabic character had its own written language. The result of this

approach, according to Yudakhin, is that young Kirgiz philologists and historians do not know their own old written language and can not independently make use of sources written in the Arabic character.

VOP. YAZ., 1959, No.1.

#### RELIGION

In recent months a campaign has been waged against religious sects in Central Asia, particularly the Seventh-Day Adventists. KT published an article on the 19th December 1958 and followed it with articles on the 8th and 22nd January 1959. The immediate cause of the last two articles was the trial of K.A. Korolenko, a leader of the sect in Tadzhikistan, on a criminal charge unconnected with his religious activities. The articles, however, lay great stress on the proselytizing activities of the sect. As might be expected, only the non-Muslim sections of the population are affected. The authors of the articles are especially concerned about the success of the sect's propaganda among young people. No definite reason is given for this success, except for an implied admission in KT (8.1.59.) that the Prayer House of the sect in Khanaka is more attractive and comfortable than the House of Culture, and for reproaches to Komsomol and Party organizations for paying insufficient attention to atheist propaganda. A result of these conversions, the articles point out, has been a refusal on the part of those converted to serve in the armed forces or to work on Sundays. Leaving out of account the question of Korolenko's guilt as charged, one can say that his trial has been used to discredit the sect in particular and religion in general in Central Asia. On the 10th February an article appeared in SK on religious sects which gave pride of place to the Seventh-Day Adventists and Baptists.

THE BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET  
CENTRAL ASIA

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THE KURDS OF TRANSCAUCASIA

The following is a slightly abridged translation of an article by T.F. Aristova entitled "Poyezdka k Kurdam Zakavkaz'ya" (A Visit to the Kurds of Transcaucasia) which appeared in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1958, No.6. A comment by C.J. Edmonds, the well-known authority on Kurds and author of KURDS, TURKS AND ARABS (OUP, 1958), is appended at the end of the article.

The proper names used in the article have been transliterated from the Russian and therefore may differ from similar Kurdish names occurring in the material on the Kurds living outside the USSR. Kurdish words and some personal names have been transcribed to give an approximate phonetic rendering on the lines indicated in Kurdoyev's GRAMMAR OF THE KURDISH LANGUAGE (Moscow, 1951).

. . .

The Transcaucasian Kurds were visited in 1957 (between the 15th August and the 15th October) with the object of collecting ethnographical material for an article called "The Kurds of Transcaucasia" in the book PEOPLES OF THE CAUCASUS. (1) Research was carried out first among the Kurds of Azerbaydzhan, and then among those of Armenia and Georgia. In Azerbaydzhan and Armenia the Kurds are scattered over various regions, forming part of the rural population, whereas in Georgia most of them live in Tbilisi and are workers and members of the intelligentsia. In the course of my mission I collected material on the distribution of the Kurds of Transcaucasia, their history, their divisions into clans and tribes, and their culture. I paid particular attention to their present-day living conditions and their cultural development. The material on the Kurds of Azerbaydzhan has proved most interesting, as has also some of the material on the Georgian Kurds, in view of the little which is known of their culture.

### Distribution

In Azerbaydzhan the Kurds inhabit four rayons: Kel'badzhar, Lachin, Kubatly and Zangelan. (2)

In the Kel'badzhar rayon the following settlements are Kurdish: Agdzhakend, Orudzhlu, Khallanly, Nizhniy, Sredniy and Verkhniy Shurudan, Soyukbulakh and Zaylik. In the Lachin rayon the Kurds inhabit Agdzhakend (the same name as above), Nizhniye and Verkhniye Zerty, Minkend, Bozlu, Kalacha, Kyamally, Cheragly, Karakishish, Sheylanly, Katos, Agbulag. In the Kubatly rayon there are Kurds living in the settlements of Makhmutlu, Gayaly, Chardakhly, Tarovlu, Mamedli, Temurmuskyanly, Kundanly, Nizhniy and Verkhniy Mollu, Godaklar, Dilalimuskyanly, Gadzheli, Kerdzhalally, Zilanly, Snotalanly, Kyurdmakhruzlu, Selali, Mirzakverdili. In the Zangelan rayon there are Kurds in Shamogly, Iskendarbegli, Farashbegli, Vanatli, Dzhakhangirbegli, Alibegli.

The Kel'badzhar rayon is very mountainous, lying mostly at 3,000 metres above sea level. The only means of communicating between the Kurdish settlements here is on horseback, although in the last few years the rayon authorities have started to construct motor roads. The Lachin rayon is also a highland area, but it contains more Kurdish settlements and they are connected by roads with the rayon centre. In the Kubatly rayon the Kurds live both in the foothills and in the plain. The Kurdish settlements of the Zangelan rayon are situated in the plain.

In the Armenian SSR there are Kurds living in the following rayons: Aparan, Ashtarak, Artashat, Basargechar, Vedi, Kotayk, Talin and Echmiadzin. (3)

In the Aparan rayon are the Kurdish settlements of Mirak, Alagöz, Sangyar, Dzhardzharis, Korbulakh, Gondasaz, Maly Dzhamushli, Kurdskiy Pamp, Chabangermaz, Kurubogaz. In the Basargechar rayon the Kurds live in the settlements of Kayabash, Koshabulakh, and Geysu. In the Talin rayon they live in the settlements of Akko, Tolek, Sabunchi, Sorik, Gyalto, Sichanlu, Kalashbach, Barozh, Koykhtapa, Bokhutli, Kanagadzh, Dian. The Kurdish settlements of the Armenian SSR are joined to their rayon centres by excellent roads.

In the Georgian SSR the majority of Kurds live in Tbilisi.

### Historical Background

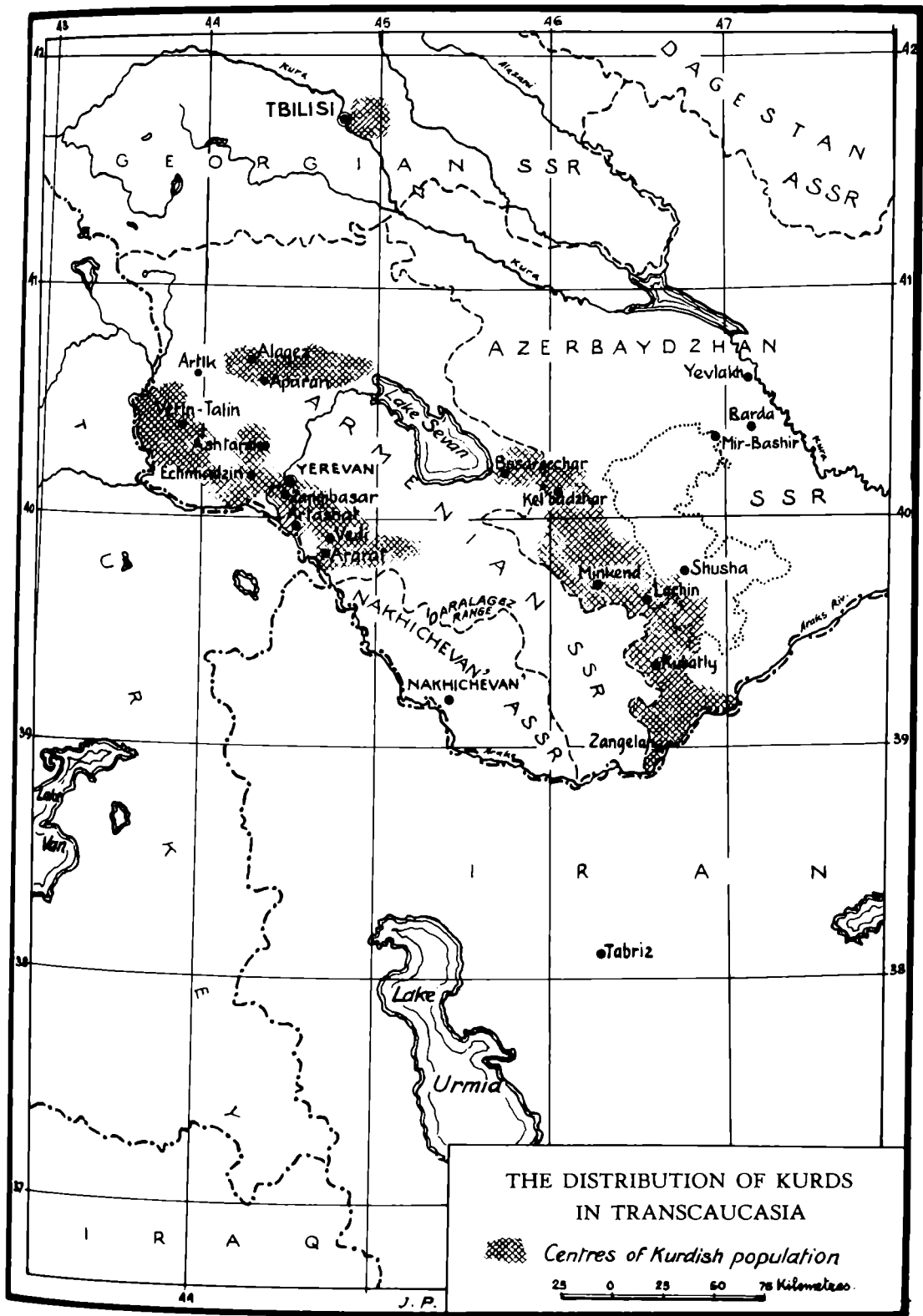
The presence of Kurds in Transcaucasia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is known to us from literary sources. In 1813, after the first Russo-Persian War and in accordance with the treaty of Golistan, a considerable number of Kurdish tribes moved from Persia into Azerbaydzhan, and some into Armenia. It is the descendants of those Kurdish emigrants who are now living in the above-mentioned rayons of

Azerbaijdzhan. In 1828 also some Kurdish tribes emigrated from Persia to Azerbaijan. This was after the Second Russo-Persian War and as a result of the treaty of Turkmanchay.

While I was in the areas listed above I was able to collect new historical information, not only about the Kurdish people as a whole, but also about individual Kurdish settlements. I relied on the interrogation of the oldest inhabitants among the Kurds as the chief way of obtaining information. Among those I interrogated were 14 aged 80 years or over. Almost every Kurdish settlement preserved traditions linking it either with the migration of the Kurds or with the founding of the settlement.

The forebears of the inhabitants of the two settlements of Zilanly and Shotalanly in the Kubatly rayon of the Azerbaijan SSR (4) were Persian subjects up to the time of the Russo-Persian wars. After a part of Persian territory became Russian the Kurds living in these settlements adopted Russian citizenship. Some of the Kurdish settlements in the Zangelan and Kubatly rayons were founded in the second half of the nineteenth century by Kurds who had fled from oppression by the Persian authorities. According to a widespread legend the settlements of Nizhniy, Sredniy and Verkhniy Shurudan in the Kel'badzhar rayon were founded by two brothers, Khyut and Nagy, who came from the settlement of Mirik in the Lachin rayon; subsequently some of the inhabitants of these settlements left in search of pastures and land in other parts of Azerbaijan: Mirbashir, Barda and Yevlakh. Kurds from the Lachin rayon migrated to separate settlements in the Kel'badzhar rayon; for example, the settlement of Agdzhakend was founded by migrants from the settlements of Agdzhakend (the same name) and Minkend. In its turn the settlement of Karakishish in the Lachin rayon was founded, long before the October Revolution, by migrants from the Daralagez uyezd of Armenia. These Kurds at first settled not far from Karakishish in the settlement of Kishlyakh but conditions unfavourable to agriculture forced them to abandon this settlement and to settle instead in Karakishish. According to legend, the founders of this settlement were Khodo and Abbas. The settlement of Minkend in the Lachin rayon is of very early origin, but exactly when and by whom it was founded it has not been possible to establish. All that is known is that long before the October Revolution the Kurdish clan of the Shakhshavarovs came here from the Daralagez uyezd of Armenia, and that they were followed by several other Kurdish clans. Before the Shakhshavarovs' migration to Minkend there were no buildings apart from an Armenian church dating from 1673. (5) The ancestors of the Kurds living in the settlement of Zaylik in the Kel'badzhar rayon, migrated from Persia to Armenia at the time of the Second Russo-Persian War, and later on moved to the settlement of Zar, in the Kel'badzhar rayon, but they did not remain there either. According to legend three brothers came to Kel'badzhar, two of them settling at Zar to start with but being later forced to leave owing to the lack of water and moving three or four kilometres further on to the river Zaylikchay, where they founded the settlement of Zaylik.





THE DISTRIBUTION OF KURDS  
IN TRANSCAUCASIA

 Centres of Kurdish population

25 0 25 50 75 Kilometres



The history of the appearance of the Kurds in Armenia and Georgia is closely connected on the one hand with the history of their migration from Turkey, and also, partly, from Persia, and on the other hand with the history of their migration from Azerbaydzhan to Armenia and from Armenia to Georgia. Some Kurds fled to Armenia from Turkish and Persian oppression, and from enquiries among the population it became clear that those now living in Armenia had for the most part originally come from Aintap, Kars and Van. Some of the settlements in Armenia have from time immemorial been Kurdish, belonging in the past to that part of Turkey which became Russian. The appearance of the Kurds in Armenia dates mainly from the Crimean War (1853/6) and the Russo-Turkish War (1877/8) A considerable number of Kurds migrated from Turkey to Armenia during the period 1914-18 also. During this time and in the years which followed a number of the Kurds of Azerbaydzhan also migrated to Armenia, for the most part to the Basargechar and Zangibasaryayons (6), which are now populated mostly by Muslim Kurds. Arriving in Armenia, the Kurds did not always found their settlements on new sites. Some present-day Yazidi Kurdish villages in Armenia were founded on the ruins of old, deserted Azerbaydzhani or Armenian villages, or villages founded originally by Muslim Kurds. For instance, Kurds from Azerbaydzhan and from the Krasnosel'sk rayon of the Armenian SSR came and settled in 1924 in the previously Azerbaydzhani settlement of Kayabash in the Basargechar rayon of the Armenian SSR. The settlements of Koshabulakh and Geysu on the site of old Azerbaydzhani villages in the Basargechar rayon were founded in 1924 by Kurds from the settlement of Ker in the same rayon and from the other rayons of Armenia. Some of the Kurdish settlements of the Aparan rayon, for example Dzhardzharis, were apparently populated before the arrival of the Kurds by Armenians, as witness the remains of the walls of an old Armenian church. In the old Muslim Kurdish settlement of Akko, in the Talin rayon, Yazidi Kurds settled in about 1922. The founders of the settlement of Sorik in the same rayon, were, similarly, Muslim Kurds, but the place is at present inhabited by Yazidi Kurds who arrived in 1929 from Kulibeglu, in the Echmiadzin rayon. The inhabitants of the settlement of Dian in the Talin rayon, also came from the Echmiadzin rayon, into which they had migrated from the former Surmalin uyezd. There are not a few settlements in Armenia founded by Kurds who came directly from Turkey, in particular from Van. They are: Gyalto, Kalashbek, Sabunchi, and others in the Talin rayon.

The Kurds who migrated to Georgia came either from Turkey or from Armenia, attracted to the towns and in most cases to Tbilisi, by the wages being paid there.

### Tribes and Clans

Almost nothing is known to us of the tribal and clan divisions of the Azerbaydzhani Kurds, and nobody, not even the oldest inhabitants, could give a clear answer to this question. It is worth

mentioning that, whereas any Kurd in Armenia and Georgia can name correctly the tribe his ancestors belonged to, the Azerbaydzhani Kurds, as a general rule, do not know their tribe or clan. True, the term adzham, apparently meaning the name of a tribe, is widely used among the Azerbaydzhani Kurds, but it appears to us to be a territorial rather than a tribal name. Two Kurds who had lived a long time in Azerbaydzhani supplied us with other names: the Babayaly and the Farykhkyanly. The **first** of these names refers to the Kel'badzhar Kurds, and the second one to the Kurds from the settlement of Zilanly, in the Kubatly rayon.

The Armenian and Georgian Kurds have preserved the memory of their tribal and clan names: Khasani, Zokor'ya, Bruka, Sipka, Karali, Zilan, Shkaka, Mchayla Sturka (sic), Rozhka, Ortuli, Pirki, Shavliki, Korkotiya, and others.

### Language

The Transcaucasian Kurds speak the Kirmanji dialect of Kurdish. This dialect has its local variations, some examples of which follow, taken from the dictionary of everyday words which we compiled:

	<u>As used by Kurds in Azerbaydzhani</u>	<u>As used by Kurds in Armenia and Georgia</u>
Girl	qachiq	qiz
How do you do?	selam eliqyum	rhozha te xir
Thank you	khnveshibe	zaf rhazime
I want to sleep	ez dekhozum raqavem	ez dykhwazym rhazim
I am tired	ez rakhat bum	ez westiyam
Tell (me)	gepqe	bizhe
Place for bedding	penmala <u>or</u> yuqalte	stirh
Butter-churn (or oil-press)	nekhre	syrsum
Opening in the ceiling for lighting and as a smoke outlet	rozhen	k8leq

In the colloquial language of the Azerbaydzhani Kurds there are several Persian and Azerbaydzhani loan-words, apparently because the Azerbaydzhani Kurds came mainly from Persia and have lived in close proximity to the Azerbaydzhani for many years. The vivid colloquial language of the Armenian and Georgian Kurds, on the other hand, contains words which are Turkish and Armenian and, to a certain extent, Georgian in origin, this being the heritage of their long habitation in Turkey and in Armenia and Georgia.

In recent years the Kurds of Transcaucasia have displayed a marked

taste for the study of Russian. As a rule nowadays the Kurdish student knows not only his mother tongue and the language of the republic he lives in but Russian as well. It cannot be denied, however, that in some Kurdish settlements the younger generation is unable to speak the mother tongue and sometimes can scarcely even understand it. This applies particularly to the Kurds of Azerbaydzhan.

A new alphabet, based on the latin alphabet, was worked out for the Soviet Kurds in 1927. Political, scientific and literary works were published in this latin alphabet, but in 1945 the Kurds of the USSR changed over to the Russian alphabet with the addition of some latin characters.

### Religion

The Transcaucasian Kurds adhere to various different religions: the Kurds of Azerbaydzhan are Shii Muslims; those in Armenia number some Sunni Muslims, but Yazidis preponderate, and the Kurds in Georgia are also Yazidis. The Yazidis are Kurds belonging to a particular religious sect. Most of them live in Iraq, but there are others living in Turkey, Syria and Persia. In their religion elements of ancient Persian Zoroastrianism, of Islam, Christianity and Judaism are interwoven in a complex way. Besides believing in God they worship the "spirit of negation", Melek Ta'us, in the form of a peacock. Their chief prophet is Shaikh 'Adi, whose shrine is not far from Mosul, in Iraq.

### Farming

Before the October Revolution most of the Transcaucasian Kurds were engaged in stock-raising (skotovodstvo) and lived a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence. Agriculture was not practised by them to any considerable extent, wheat and barley being the main crops cultivated. In some of the rayons of Azerbaydzhan (Kubatly, Zangelan and, to some extent, Lachin) they grew tobacco, cotton and rice. The Yazidi Kurds, in accordance with their religious traditions, grew no vegetables.

Pasture and plots of land belonged either to the Tsarist government or to Kurdish tribal chieftans and feudal lords or to local petty landowners. In the settlement of Zilanly, for example, in what is now the Kubatly rayon, the land belonged to two big landowners, Mamed Gasan beg and Ismail beg. The harvest was distributed according to the so-called quinqpartite formula which distinguished the following elements: earth and water, seeds, draught animals, instruments of production, and labour. It very often happened that a peasant without any land, water, seeds or draught animals of his own would receive from the landlord only one-fifth of the crops he had harvested.

After the establishment of Soviet power the Kurdish people were able

to avail themselves of the opportunity to build up their economy on new foundations. The process of stabilization has been going on gradually among the Kurdish nomads since about 1921. The Kurds embarked on their first kolkhoz in 1929, and by 1935 they had all been consolidated into kolkhozes. There exist at the present time both exclusively Kurdish kolkhozes and mixed kolkhozes which contain Kurds together with other peoples of the Transcaucasian republics.

The Kurdish kolkhozniks of the Kel'badzhar and Lachin rayons of Azerbaydzhan and those of the Aparan and Basargechar rayons of Armenia are mostly stock-breeders. Kurdish kolkhozniks have also made a successful job of crops; apart from wheat and barley, they cultivate rice, cotton, maize, and tobacco. They have also turned their hands to bee-keeping, which for some of the kolkhozniks is a new occupation.

Mechanization has contributed to the development of agriculture, and the Kurds now use modern machines and implements. Animal husbandry is being developed on the kolkhozes and livestock productivity is being raised while at the same time the conditions of livestock maintenance are being continuously improved. Each kolkhoz has its veterinary sections and dispensaries under the direction of Kurds.

#### Carpet-making and other manufactures

Carpet-making used, and to a certain extent still does, play an important part in the economic life of the Kurds in Armenia and, particularly, in the mountainous regions of Azerbaydzhan. As is well-known carpet-making is one of the Kurds' most ancient crafts. Kurdish carpets and carpet-ware are made both with and without a pile, the latter being called palas. They are manufactured principally from various kinds of wool dyed in bright colours, and are more often oblong in shape, rather than square. Their dimensions are most varied. Various names are given to the carpets according to the method of their manufacture, the colouring, measurements, purpose and pattern. Thus there is the emani of Armenia and Georgia, the jarjym, jarjin, and zili (or berh) of Armenia, Azerbaydzhan and Georgia, and the gyaba of Azerbaydzhan.

There is a very varied range of woollen goods with patterns similar to those on carpets. Amongst such goods are women's woollen belts (Armenia and Georgia), saddle-bags (Armenia, Azerbaydzhan and Georgia), bags for spoons (Azerbaydzhan and the Basargechar rayon of Armenia), bags for salt (Azerbaydzhan), large sacks for storing bedding (Azerbaydzhan), and women's and men's stockings (Armenia and Azerbaydzhan). The manufacture of felting is very widespread; there is the Armenian khoresani and, particularly, the qölav, and the Azerbaydzhani doshanaq.

Our observations have established that the patterns of Kurdish carpets have preserved many ancient thematic motifs which are revealed in the elements of the pattern. These elements are put together in a definite order on different

carpets, and in many cases it is possible to determine that some of the elements in a pattern have led to the exclusion of other elements.

In the patterns of Kurdish carpets, apart from purely geometrical elements, motifs appear which reflect the Kurds' religious outlook, their occupations, such as stock-breeding, agriculture and crafts, and their natural surroundings. Thus, for instance, the sun is depicted mainly on the carpets made by Yazidi Kurds and used, in the past, to reflect the religious tenets of fire-worshippers. In some cases sun symbols also appear on the carpets made by Muslim Kurds, testifying not only to a common material culture among the Kurds but also, perhaps, to an ancient common religious heritage. Symbolical bird-figures also appear frequently; sometimes there is a more or less realistic picture, while in other cases the bird is geometrically stylized. The portrayal of a bird is more particularly a characteristic of the Yazidis with their religious concepts of the peacock, Melek Ta'us. Horns and antlers appear on many Kurdish carpets, this being apparently connected with the Kurds' principal occupation of stock-raising. It should be noted that some of the motifs mentioned above are to be found also in the patterns of carpets made by Azerbaydzhanis and Armenians.

New themes for the patterns of Kurdish carpets are now replacing the old themes. In this drastic renewal the old elements in the pattern are being combined with the new thematic motifs which are being developed, such as the apotheosis of the Kurds' successful labour exploits, heroes of labour and the friendship of the peoples of Transcaucasia.

A considerable number of the Kurds of Transcaucasia do factory work in the towns of Armenia, Azerbaydzhani and Georgia. At all places of work they manage to get on successfully with the other peoples of these republics while working with them on an equal footing.

During the years of Soviet power a large detachment of the Kurdish intelligentsia has been formed among the Transcaucasian Kurds, from whose numbers have come scientists, agriculturists, engineers, doctors and teachers, among them several women.

### Living conditions

The traditional elements of the Transcaucasian Kurds' material culture are most fully preserved in their dwellings, women's clothes, and domestic utensils. The old type of Kurdish dwelling is a mud hut or semi-mud hut with stone walls, a wooden domed roof, an opening in the dome for lighting and as a smoke outlet, and a wooden panel door. (In the settlement of Nizhniye Zerty, in the Lachin rayon of Azerbaydzhani, are to be found some so-called cave-dwellings which have been dug out of the rock or lie underground.) The covering which serves as a ceiling rests on wooden poles inside the living-room, the number of poles varying

according to the interior dimensions. A hearth - the tendur - is dug out of the earthen floor. In Kurdish houses in the Kel'badzhar, Lachin and Kubatly rayons of Azerbaydzhan there are, apart from the tendur, hearths built into the wall or iron stoves with a flue leading out of the opening in the roof.

[Mme. Aristova then goes on to describe the division of these dwellings into rooms, paying particular attention to the guest-room for men, the ode (Armenia), and beds. She also has a paragraph on tents.]

Recent years have seen changes in the appearance of the Kurdish settlements of Transcaucasia. The Kurds are moving into bright and spacious new dwellings. The new houses being built are not all one-storey buildings of clay or stone; there are also two-storey houses in the settlement of Nizhniy Mollu in the Kubatly rayon, at Minkend, Bozlu and Kalacha in the Lachin rayon, these being in Azerbaydzhan, and at Alagëz in the Aparan rayon of Armenia, and elsewhere. In the new kind of house windows have been made in the walls, a flue installed for the iron stove, a floor laid down, and a terrace and balcony constructed. The furniture is such as is found in a town: wireless sets, bookshelves, and suchlike, and all houses have been wired for electricity and wireless. The old Kurdish mud hut is in most cases used only as an outhouse.

### Clothes

The Kurdish women of Armenia and Georgia have on the whole preserved their national costume, whereas in Azerbaydzhan women's clothes have come to differ less and less from those of the Azerbaydzhanis. Kurdish women's clothes consist of the following articles: hevalgyras (shalvar or baggy trousers); gyras (shirt); navdire, thuman (skirt); shalyq, doshtuq (apron); kötvi (jacket); ileq (waistcoat); pyshyt (a large woollen shawl); benpyshyt (woollen sash) or kember (silver belt); kofi, fino (headdress, in place of which a silken kerchief is very often worn); gore (woollen stockings) and ordinary town shoes.

[Mme. Aristova then describes in some detail each of these articles of clothing, saying how, when and where they are worn.]

Kurdish women formerly wore numerous complicated ornaments about the head, ears, neck, breast, arms, and waist. These are now worn only on festive occasions, and then by few women. The everyday feminine adornments most widely used now are mass-produced beads, rings and earrings.

### Domestic Utensils

Factory-produced crockery and kitchen utensils are widely used. The national domestic utensils, as used by rural Kurds, are of various kinds, and include copper, earthenware, wooden, cast-iron, and stone articles. There are various kinds of copper utensil, such as the sityl, a cooking-pot



with one or two handles and narrowing at the top, and the berosh, the same shape but smaller. The Azerbaydzhan Kurds use a berosh without a handle. /Also described by Mme. Aristova are the appearance and uses of many other native domestic utensils, for all of which she gives the Kurdish names with their variants./

### Songs and Dances

The Kurds have a very rich and varied people's art. Kurdish songs can be divided according to their subject-matter into heroic, lyric, nuptial, and ritual songs, songs of everyday life and work songs. Among the principal songs are the meyremi and the shalyq shinoqi (nuptial); the ehmedi sudi, dewrishi evdi and hami musi (heroic); the evdali zeynyqi and khezal (lyric); and the klamoqi qech' yqa (sic) (chastushki - brief catches). The Kurds of Armenia and Georgia are particularly noted for their steadfastness in preserving traditional Kurdish songs. A considerable number of choral songs with new subject matter have been composed recently, for example "Song of the Komsomol", "May Song", and others in Georgia.

Kurdish dances have always been predominately round dances or figure dances, but individual dances have begun to appear in recent years. Two kinds of round dance may be distinguished - the graceful (plavnyye) and the fast dance. Among the better known ones are the hoynare; lachi bene; edli; seqme; zölfane; Jan Göli; niri; yale (7) performed by men and women together. Round dances are led by a man who forms them into a circle and as it were conducts them with a kerchief held in his right hand. Thanks to the active work of komsomol and party organizations, many settlements now have amateur groups formed from among the more gifted performers of Kurdish songs and dances (as, for example, in the settlement of Agdzhakend, in the Kel'badzhar rayon of Azerbaydzhan). In 1956, on the initiative of the Kurdish intelligentsia of Tbilisi, a Kurdish song and dance ensemble formed from among students, factory-workers and office-workers was set up by the town's committee of the komsomol. For the first time in the history of the Kurdish people a Kurdish woman appeared on the stage, and at the Georgian republican festival of 1956 the ensemble was awarded a second-class diploma. Another ensemble of Kurdish song and dance was formed in Tbilisi, also in 1956, at the mechanical transport depot of the SOYUZTORGRANS on the initiative of Kurdish workers.

### Literature

A national Transcaucasian Kurdish tradition of belles-lettres began to be formed after the establishment of Soviet Power, when the cultural level of the people was raised. An alphabet and grammar of the Kurdish language were drawn up. Transcaucasian Kurds number at the

present moment several writers and poets whose main source, from which they draw both their themes and their forms, is the centuries-old traditional oral poetry of the Kurdish people. Every Kurd is familiar with the legendary romances (romanticheskkiye skazaniya) of Mam and Zine, Siamant and Khadzhezare, Zambilfroshe, and others. The Soviet Kurdish intelligentsia, on the other hand, is in touch with the cultural achievements of other fraternal peoples, such as the Armenians, Azerbaydzhanis, Georgians and Russians, and is assimilating these achievements. By means of translations, Kurdish writers are familiarizing the Kurds with the literatures of other peoples. Museib Akhundov has, for example, translated into Kurdish UZNIK (The Prisoner) and SKAZKA O RYBAKE I RYBKE (The Tale of the Fisherman and the Little Fish) from the Russian of A. S. Pushkin, and LISA YEDET V MEKKU (The Fox goes to Mecca) from the Azerbaydzhani, and other similar works.

Under Soviet rule, the Transcaucasian Kurds have been given a poly-graphic basis (poligraficheskaya baza) for the publication of books and newspapers. Specimens from the Kurdish heritage of oral poetry were published in the symposium KURDSKIY FOL'KLOR (Yerevan, 1936). The collected verse of M. Akhundov was published at Baku in 1937 in the Kurdish language. A symposium of verse called SOVETSKIYE KURDSKIYE POETY appeared in 1956 at Yerevan in the Russian language. A. Shamilov's book KURDSKIY PASTUKH (The Kurdish Shepherd) was reprinted in 1957 at Tbilisi in the Georgian language. At 1958, in the same place, a symposium of the works of the Kurdish writers of Georgia appeared in Russian. At Lachin, in Azerbaydzhani, the rayon newspaper SOVETSKIY KURDISTAN is published.

The Kurds of Soviet Armenia in particular have made great progress in the development of culture. The Kurdish-language newspaper RYA TEZE (The New) is published here, as are also textbooks and other books in large quantities. Kurdish language broadcasts are transmitted, and in the rayons where the population is predominantly Kurdish the Kurdish language is taught in schools. In the friendly family of the Transcaucasian peoples the Soviet Kurds are successfully developing the best patterns for their national culture.

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#### Comment by Mr. C.J. Edmonds

As far as I know, there is no other reasonably full account of the Kurds of the Caucasus available anywhere. Even Nikitin, formerly of the Imperial Russian Consular Service, in his comprehensive book LES KURDES, Paris 1956, gives them less than half a page and tells us little more than that they number less than 100,000 and that at Yerevan there is a certain amount of Kurdish cultural activity in the shape of a teachers' training college, a theatre, a newspaper and a certain outturn of belles-lettres. The bulk of the Transcaucasian Kurds presumably became Russian subjects as a result of the annexation of Persian territory in 1813 and 1828 but, as Madame Aristova says,

there were some subsequent arrivals of migrants and refugees from both Persia and Turkey.

The statements about origins and tribal affiliations are not easy to follow: and although I recognize one or two of the settlement names as the same as names of tribes recorded in Turkey, it is difficult to draw any precise conclusions.

It is interesting to learn that the Kurds in Georgia (Tbilisi chiefly) and a majority of those in Armenia are Yazidis. Up to 1914 one of the seven "peacocks" which used to be sent out in charge of Qawwals to collect duties and alms for the central shrine of Shaykh Adi near Mosul was assigned to the Caucasus. I remember being told that the Caucasian part was cut off by the outbreak of war in 1914 and that they did not return and had not been heard of.

The sections on farming, crafts and society generally indicate that, at any rate until quite recently, life has remained much the same as in other rural parts of Kurdistan, and call for no comment.

#### Notes

The following notes are the author's except where otherwise stated.

- (1) In 1951 the author visited the Kurds of Armenia at the behest of the Institut Etnografii AN/SSSR.
- (2) I visited a number of settlements in the first three rayons.
- (3) In 1957 work was carried out in isolated (otdel'nyye) settlements in the mountain rayons of Aparan, Basargechar and Talin.
- (4) Up to 1950 the settlement of Zilanly was in the Zangelan rayon of the Azerbaydzhan SSR.
- (5) The inhabitants of the settlement of Minkend hold that this church was made by altering an old mosque.
- (6) The Kurds (then) living in the Zangibasar rayon now inhabit the Artashat and Shaumyan rayons.
- (7) Yale. This word is printed in the text with one letter peculiar to the Kurdish alphabet of Transcaucasia and not found in Russian and with one letter found in Russian but not in the Kurdish alphabet. (Translator's note).

## T H E K U R D S I N P E R S I A

The present article consists of selections from Soviet material on the Kurds which has appeared during the past two years. Apart from some general estimates of the Kurdish population in the whole area known as Kurdistan, all the material is concerned with the Mukri and other Kurds living in Persia.

The Editors of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW are grateful to Mr. C.J. Edmonds for his advice in the selection of the material. Mr. Edmonds's comments are appended at the end of the article.

Attention has been concentrated mainly on those passages which contain material not apparently easily available elsewhere. Such passages have been translated in full. This has meant in practice that passages dealing with ancient history, geographical descriptions, folklore, archaeology, language, economy, occupations, food and clothing have been largely ignored whereas more attention has been paid to specific information about Kurdish tribes, recent political history, and modern Kurdish writing.

The works from which selections have been made are the following:

1. Vil'chevskiy, O.L. "Mukrinskiye Kurdy" (The Mukri Kurds). An ethnographical sketch in TRUDY IN-TA ETNOGRAFIU IM. MIKLUKHO-MAKLAYA, No. 39, 1958, pp. 180-222 (20,000 words). This annotated and illustrated article has sections on the geography of Mukri Kurdistan and the history of the Mukri Kurds, on Population, Economy and Social Relations, Material Culture, Towns and Urban Life, Clan and Family Life, Religion and Funeral Rites, and Language, Literature and Folklore. "The Author", Vil'chevskiy writes, "has based his article on personal observations made during his visits to Mukri Kurdistan in the period 1942-6, and has supplemented these with information obtained during the same period from Mukri Kurds, including the late leaders of the Kurdish democratic movement, Kazi-Mohammad and his brother, Sadre-Kazi. At the same time," Vil'chevskiy continues, "the author attempted to read the not very extensive literature on this question in Russian, Kurdish, and the European languages. The incompleteness and fragmentary nature of the separate divisions of this sketch can be explained by the insufficiency of available facts which in any case are not always reliable, are frequently outdated or refer only to one particular tribe. In a number of instances the author was obliged to refrain from a deeper analysis and to limit himself to stating facts which were at times contradictory."

2. Aristova, T.F. "Ocherk kul'tury i byta kurdsikh krest'yan Irana" (A Sketch of the Culture and Way of Life of the Kurdish Peasants in Persia). TRUDY IN-TA ETNOGRAFIIM. MIKLUKHO-MAKLAYA, No. 39, 1958, pp. 223-58 (16,000 words). This is an illustrated and annotated article with sections on the distribution, tribal divisions and language of the Kurds in Persia, and the physical characteristics of Persian Kurdistan on Chief Occupations, Social Relations, Material Culture, Family Life, and Spiritual Culture. The author does not appear to have visited the area herself, but bases her article on the observations and writings of others. She was responsible for the five brief articles on the Kurds in the second (1953) edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia.

3. Kurdoyev, K.K. "Kurdy" (The Kurds). NARODY PEREDNEY AZII, in the series NARODY MIRA, Izd-vo AN/SSSR, Moscow, 1957, pp. 242-60 (6,000 words). This is an illustrated article with comparatively few footnotes and has sections on the Kurds' geographical distribution, tribal division, history and present situation, on their Chief Occupations, Social and Family Relations, Material Culture, Language and Spiritual Culture, and the National Liberation and Democratic Movement. K.K. Kurdoyev is the author of a grammar of the Kurdish language published in Moscow in 1957, and his present article contains a contribution (exactly where is not specified) by T.F. Aristova.

4. SOVREMENNIY IRAN : SPRAVOCHNIK (A Handbook of Modern Persia). Izd-vo AN/SSSR, Institut Vostokovedeniya, Moscow, 1957, 718 pp. This book gives on pp. 631-2 a detailed list of Kurdish tribes, their divisions and subdivisions.

The names of tribes and individuals have been transliterated direct from the Russian except where the cyrillic kh and dzh are obviously used for h and j. Persian place names have been transliterated according to the established PCGN system.

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I. Kurdish Tribes - II. Recent Political History - III. Modern Writing - IV. Towns.

#### I. KURDISH TRIBES

K.K. Kurdoyev.

In the first paragraphs of his chapter on the Kurds in NARODY PEREDNEY AZII he gives the following account of their geographical distribution, translated here in full.

"The Kurds, whose name for themselves is kurmanj (Kurd), are numerically the second among the national minorities of Persia and form the largest national minority in Turkey and Iraq. There are 5,300,000 of them living in the countries of south-west Asia (1), this figure including 1,800,000 in Persia, 2,300,000 in Turkey, 900,000 in Iraq, and 300,000 in Syria. Most Kurds live in compact groups in Kurdistan - "Land of the Kurds", where they make up 75 per cent of the entire population in this vast mountainous country.

"The national boundaries between Turkey, Persia and Iraq, apart from the southern section of the Persian-Iraqi frontier, cut across the territory of Kurdistan, dividing it into three parts, and converging at its centre. The northern part of the Iraqi-Syrian frontier and the eastern part of the Turkish-Syrian frontier also cut across Kurdish-populated territory.(2)

"In Turkey the Kurds live in a compact group in the south-east of the country (Turkish Kurdistan). In this solid Kurdish mass there are groups of mixed population along a line Elazig-Diyarbakir-Urfa and on the western, eastern and northern shores of Lake Van. In the southern part of Turkish Kurdistan Arabs live together with Kurds in the vilayets of Urfa, Mardin and Siirt, while to the west of the main area settled by them the Kurds form a mixed population with Turks in the vilayets of Erzincan, Erzurum and Sivas, among others.

"In Persia the Kurds live in the west of the country, in Persian Kurdistan, which lies in the fifth and a part of the fourth ostan. There are in addition isolated Kurdish settlements in Gilan and in the Qazvin district, while in the east of Persia, in northern Khorasan in the districts of Quchan and Darreh Gaz live about 200,000 Kurds of the Shadullu and Zafaranlu tribes. These are the descendants of Kurdish tribes sent by the Safavi shahs as a covering force against the raids of Central Asian nomads near Persia's eastern border. Under Reza Shah's dictatorship the Persian government tried repeatedly to settle Kurdish tribes separately in the south of the country, but the majority of those sent returned whence they came.

"In Iraq the Kurds inhabit the northern mountainous regions, the regions of Mosul, Kirkuk, Sulaimaniya, Ruwandiz, Koi Sanjaq, Amadiya and Jebel Sinjar. In Syria they inhabit the extreme north-eastern corner of the country, adjacent to the Kurdish regions of Iraq. There are also isolated Kurdish settlements scattered along the Syrian-Turkish border, as also in the Qara Dagh mountains and in Damascus the Kurds live in their own quarter of Salikhiye.

"It is often repeated in literature on the Kurds that there are large Kurdish tribes living in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and even in Pakistan.(3) It is very probable that some of this information will be confirmed in the future; it is well known that the Persian shahs on more than one occasion

included military detachments from Kurdish tribes in their armies and established Kurdish military settlements along the Persian borders.

"The Kurds are, after the Afghans, the second most numerous of the peoples of south-west Asia to have preserved their tribal society in the face of feudalism and latter-day capitalism." Kurdoyev goes on from here to mention what he considers the chief drawback of the Kurds' loyalty to their tribal leaders; it prevents, he asserts, the Kurdish masses from seeing the "class contradictions" in their society and from "seeing in their leaders, long since transformed into feudal lords, their class enemies."

Kurdoyev lists the following tribes and tribal unions: in the south-western part of Kurdistan - the Milan, Zilyan, Rozhki, Sipki, Jalali, Zaza, Kiki, Slivan; in central Kurdistan - the Shekkak, Harki, Zerza, Artushi, Bahdinan, Bajilan; in south-eastern Kurdistan - the Mukri, Jaf, Avromani, Barzan, Barzinjan, Bilbas, Kelkhor, Sanjabi, Zengene.  
(4)

Mme. Aristova.

In the introductory paragraphs to her article, Mme. Aristova gives the following account of the national minorities in Persian Kurdistan, and of the distribution of Kurds there and their tribal divisions. A full translation is given.

"The Kurds form the basis of the rural population of Persian Kurdistan. Apart from Kurds, there are Persians, Azarbayjanis, Assyrians, Armenians and Jews. (5) The Kurds also predominate in Mahabad (Saujbolagh) (15,971), Ushnu (2,212), Sardasht (2,000), Naqadeh (1,160), Saqqez (12,000), Baneh (5,000), Kermanshah (10,000), Sanandaj (34,740). (6) In other towns of the region, including Maku, Reza'iyeh and Shahpur, a non-Kurdish population predominates.

"One of the characteristics peculiar to the Kurdish people is their preservation up to the present day of family-tribal divisions. The Kurds are separated into a considerable number of large and small tribes, each with its own definite territory. (7) Some tribes are joined together in confederations.

"In the northern part of Persian Kurdistan (the mountainous regions around Maku, the region of the Seygmenov mountains, of the Kotur gorge, of Salmas, Tergever, Mergever and Lake Reza'iyeh) the biggest tribes are the Jalali, Milan, Hayderanlu, Harki, Hasnanlu, Shekkak and others. In the central part (in the regions of Ushnu, Mahabad, Bokan, Sardasht, Saqqez, Baneh, and Sanandaj) live the Zerza

tribes, a union of Mukri tribes (Bekzade, Debokri, Mamash, Mangur, Piran, and Geuryk), and the Susani, Kyalbakhi, and Ardelan, among others. The southern part of Persian Kurdistan (the regions of Kermanshah, Kerend, Zohab, Revansor, Merivan, and Qasr-e Shirin) is occupied by the Kurdish Tribes of Balavend, Valatbegi, Guran, Jaf, Javanrud, Doraj, Zangishei, Kalkhani, Kerendi, Kokavend, Kelkhor, Kolyan, Kyanduley, Lyak, Merivan, Avroman, Pavei, Payravend, Sanjabi, and others. Some of these tribes, for instance the Jalali, Milan, Harki, Shekkak, Piran, Jaf, and Sanjabi, live also in the territory of Turkish and Iraqi Kurdistan. Apart from this there are isolated Kurdish settlements scattered beyond the bounds of Persian Kurdistan in the eastern, southern and northern parts of Persia, near the towns of Quchan and Bojnurd in Khorasan, in the regions of Shiraz and Qazvin, in Gilan, Fars and Persian Baluchistan. (8) In Gilan, for example, there are known to be Kurds of the Bishveni tribe and in Khorasan - Kurds of the Zafaranlu, Shadilu and Pazeki tribes. The distribution of other Kurdish tribes beyond the bounds of Persian Kurdistan has not been recorded. The Kurds living in Khorasan and Persian Baluchistan were sent there by Persian rulers after the suppression of uprisings. The government also made use of the Kurds to defend the borders of Persia from the raids of nomadic tribes."

#### SOVREMENNY IRAN: SPRAVOCHNIK

The list of Kurdish tribes given in this handbook is reproduced below in full:

Mukri: This tribe is divided into clans: Goureke-intaraf, Bekzade, Debokri.

Kurds of Sardasht: Gourek, Beraji, Milkari, Darnei, Alan.

Bilbas: This tribe is divided into clans: Mamash, Piran, Mangur.

Karapapakh: This tribe is divided into clans: Terkavun, Saral, Araply, Janahmadi, Chakharly, Ulachly.

Shekkaki: This tribe is divided into clans: Avdoi, Nisan, Mandolek, Fanak, Sheran, Badinan, Khaluf, Kardar, Khenare, Pachik, Mamedi, Kyrgi, Delan, Butan, Gourek, Gavok.

Dumbuli;      Zarza;      Harki;      Bekzade;      Kukhesti;

Kelkhury: This tribe is divided into clans: Gilyani, Ali-Rizabani, Shiyrike, Khalabani, Khalidi, Kuchek, Payrike, Abdolmamei, Ritaban, Siya-Siya, Khamman, Ravand, Kaliona, Seidreza, Kerkheu, Menishi, Kalkush, Shiyani, Ziveri, Cherzeveri, Kalaji, Beyagui, Lanavan, Kuchimi, Kharunabadi.

Sanjabi: This tribe is divided into clans: Khaknazarkhani, Chalabi, Sufi, Dalyan, Alaykhani, Darkhor, Seymenavand, Surkhavand, Jalivand, Dasteja,



Abbasvand.

Guran: This tribe is divided into clans: Kadirmirveysi, Kalkhani, Tayshi, Tufangchi, Nereji, Bibiyani, Gyakhvare, Simani, Nairiki.

Ahmadvand; Kerendi.

Zengene: This tribe is divided into clans: Osmanvand, Zengeneyye-kuchek, Zengeneyye-shahidasht.

Jalilvand; Kindule; Bajelan; Sharafbaini; Khodabandelu; Mundami;  
Taylaku; Gulbagi; Mamui; Gushki; Gurgai; Lek;  
Babajai-Kubadi; Balavand; Dum; Verdui; Zafranlu;  
Shadlu; Kavanlu; Amarlu; Mollanavi; Pazuki; Kakavand;

#### O.L. Vil'chevskiy

"The area settled by the Mukri Kurds - the so-called Mukri Kurdistan (Kurdistan-e-Mukuriyan) belongs", says Vil'chevskiy introducing his article, "to the less well studied Kurdish regions of Persia. According to the modern administrative divisions of Persia, it corresponds roughly with the Mahabad shahrestan of the fourth ostan and lies along the Persian-Iraqi border near its junction with the Turkish frontier. To the south and west it borders directly on the main Kurdish regions of Iraq and Persia, while its north-western boundary is with Turkish Kurdistan. Only its north-eastern and eastern borders are with non-Kurdish regions where the population is mainly Turkic speaking."

The second section of Vil'chevskiy's article, dealing with the population of Mukri Kurdistan, follows in a full translation.

"Only an approximate figure can be given for the population of Mukri Kurdistan, owing to the absence of reliable statistical data. Persian sources (9) as a rule indicate either the number of families, houses, etc., in the case of nomadic and semi-nomadic people (ilat), or the number of people, as in the case of settled population, the latter always being counted in with the ruling nationality, the Persians. It must also be taken into account that a considerable number of the nomads come, in the course of their wanderings, from neighbouring provinces, and even from Iraq, and that there are some, on the other hand, who in the summer wander back over the border. This means that the number of nomads will vary with the season and according to other factors facilitating or impeding their migrations. The information given below refers mainly to the years 1942-5 and is based on written sources and on information gleaned from the local population by the author.

"The overall population is between 300,000 and 400,000 which, spread over an area of 15,000 square kilometres, gives an average density of between 20 and 25 persons per square kilometre. The urban population amounts to something between 50,000 and 60,000, or approximately 15 per cent. The settled element of the rural population accounts for between 150,000 and 200,000, while the nomadic element accounts for between 100,000 and 140,000.

"The Kurdish population in the area consists of a number of tribes, the majority of which are joined in confederations of tribes. The following ashiret (see p. 184) tribes belong to the Mukri confederation of tribes:

1. Beksade, or Mukri proper (8-10,000). The Bekzade (their name means "high-born") were originally the warriors of the Mukri tribe, but, on becoming the chief tribe of the whole confederation, they turned themselves into an ashiret organization of landowners and are now to be found living a settled life in every part of Mukri Kurdistan, having split up into five branches. The chief of these branches is the Mukri Sardar dynasty. A century and a half ago the Bekzade had become so weak that the Debokri tribe came to the support of the Sardars and assumed the primacy.

2. Debokri (30-35,000). The Debokri are a young tribe, formed about 250 years ago from among the Diyarbekir Kurds by Braim Aga, one of the warriors of the Bekzade tribe. The Debokri were originally a military detachment of the Mukri Sardars, but it was not long before one of the descendants of Braim Aga, Bapir Aga, came into possession of the Shahrivan district (10), settled his tribe there and became in fact the leader of the Mukri confederation. About the time of the Second World War the Debokri declined in power and influence, and a struggle started between the leaders of the Mangur and Mamash tribes for the dominant position in the Mukri confederation of tribes. The Debokri live a settled life in the districts of Solduz, Shahrivan, Akhtechi, Bekhi and El-Teymur. The Debokri are divided into five ashiret clans: the Abbas Aga, Khamed Aga, Sleman Aga, Maruf Aga and Sheykh Aga, which take their names from the descendants of the founder of the tribe, Braim Aga.

The Bekzade and the Debokri are the indigenous tribes of the Mukri confederation, and they were joined by the Bilbas (11) tribes, who are related to them. (Another part of this old confederation of tribes live in Iraq, where the Bilbas are numbered among the big and influential tribes.) The Persian Bilbas used to pay the Mukri leaders 1,000 tumans annually, but they are now no longer in a state of dependence and are themselves attempting to become the leaders of the Mukri confederation.

The Bilbas tribes represented among the Mukri are as follows:

3. Mamash (15-20,000). This tribe is divided into an ashiret clan, the Khamzeagai, and the rayat (serf) clans of Marbokr, Fake-Tamane, Marbara-Kyra, Joukhor, Belavend, Kerov-Dela, Kakhaji, Jemala, and Gasuri. Mamash clans are to a considerable extent not Bilbas by origin; they claim as their eponym the semi-legendary Golden-legged or Golden-lipped khan (Khane-Leng-zerrin, or Khane-Lab-zerrin). The Joukhor and Belavend clans are Lurs by origin. The Mamash live a settled life in the districts of Lahijan, Solduz and Ushnu.

4. Mangur (25-30,000). This tribe is divided into an ashiret clan, the Ka-Dervishi, and the rayat clans of Braima-Synne, Marzing, Marnakena, Shah-Sherifi, Bab-Rasuva, Akhle-Semnane, Gurgedei, Kelkhor, Barik, and Kaka-Suva. Some of these clans are not Bilbas. It is known that they are of Armenian origin and that they are connected in particular with the Armenian clan of Mamikoyan. (12) The Mangur live in the districts of Mangur and El-Taymur and are nomads.

5. Piran (15-20,000). This tribe is divided into an ashiret clan, the Vusu-Suare, and the rayat clans of Berchem, Mukhane, Ahmade-Alke, Vermeziyar, Seman-Karani, Vestapire, and Morik. The Morik clan is divided into four branches: the Fake-Khaliye, Vusu-Khulone, Olyamle, and Sebreyate. The Piran tribe lays claim to the dominant position among all the Bilbas, not only the Persian ones belonging to the Mukri confederation but the Iraqi ones as well. (13) The Iraqi Bilbas are made up of the Synn, Ramyk and Ojakh (or Ojakh-ka-khydri) tribes, and it is the last-named which has the primacy among the Bilbas. In summer some of the Iraqi Bilbas roam over the Vezne plateau in Mukri Kurdistan with their herds.

6. Geuryk (10-15,000). This tribe is divided into an ashiret clan, the Kershiri, and the rayat clans of Zend, Basaudela, Baomeri (or Bomeri), Marzing, Fake-Isi, and Kelvan. The Geuryk are from Hamadan, although, in accordance with the tradition prevailing among them, they reckon themselves as Bilbas. To judge from the names of the clans (for example, Zend, which in the past was one of the most powerful Kurdish tribes, giving rise to the Zend dynasty which ruled in Persia), the Geuryk assimilated a considerable number of old Kurdish tribes. The Geuryk live in the south-eastern part of Mukri Kurdistan, and are for the most part nomads.

"Living alongside the ashiret tribes which belong to the Mukri confederation and are enumerated above, and on the territory belonging to the Mukri confederation, are rayat Kurds who have reached a stage of partial detribalization. (14) Some of these tribes used also to be ashiret. The most powerful among them are the Hasan-Khali, Khurmeziyar (or Vurmeziyar), Omerbil (or Ba-omer), Tileku, Bashuki, Sit, Siya-lekei, and Borik.

"In the southern part of Mukri Kurdistan, between Vezne, Sardasht and

the Kandil range lives the settled tribe of Suseni (30-35,000). This tribe is divided into two ashiret clans, the Beriaji and the Melkari, and three clans subordinate to them, the Darne, Khazalan and Alan. (15)

"In northern Mukri Kurdistan lives one of the old Kurdish tribes - the Zerza (12-25,000). They are settled in the region of Ushnu. According to tradition three brothers brought the Zerza from Diyarbekir to their present habitat. These brothers, Shaaban, Omar and Ahmad, are the forefathers of the three clans of the Zerza tribe. One of these clans settled in Persia (in the Ushnu region), and the two others in Turkey (Semdinan and Gevar). The Zerza of Ushnu were a long time under Mukri rule, lost their own dialect and speak one which is close to the Mukri dialect. As Mukri power weakened, the Zerza became subject to the Kurdish tribe of Shekkak which dominated the mountainous regions to the west and north-west of Lake Reza'iyeh. Only after the First World War did the Zerza succeed in regaining their independence.

"The Harki (15-20,000) are a tribe of Kurdish nomads. In summer time they appear on the hill pastures of the Kurdistan range, near the Iraqi border and to the west of the Zerza. In winter they return to the neighbouring regions of Iraq. In the course of their wanderings they pass over Turkish territory as well, and there are Zerza living in the Gevar region who are subject to the Harki. Most of the Harki appearing on Persian territory are of the Mandan clan. As in the case of a large part of the neighbouring Mukri, the Harki belonged at one time to the Bilbas confederation of tribes, this being to a certain extent borne out by characteristics of their language.

"Apart from the Kurds, who account for approximately 75 per cent of the population of Mukri Kurdistan, there are also Turkish nomadic tribes, Armenians, Assyrians, Jews, Karapapakhs, Persians and Azarbayjanis.

"The Armenians (15-20,000) inhabit some villages to the south of Mahabad and make up a considerable percentage of the urban population as merchants, craftsmen, workers and members of the intelligentsia.

"The Assyrians (10-12,000) live chiefly in the Ushnu region, the remnants there of the ancient population of the area. The Assyrians, like the Armenians, constitute the rural and, to a certain extent, the urban population.

"The Jews (10-13,000) live in villages in the regions of Baneh and Bokan, where they also constitute a considerable part of the urban population. As distinct from Persian Jews, who speak a dialect of the Persian language, the Jews of Mukri Kurdistan speak Kurdish.

"The Turkish nomadic tribes, which include the Afshar, Mukaddam,

Chardovlu, Kheyran and Balak (20-25,000) are to be found in the mountainous part of Mukri Kurdistan, chiefly in the region of Shahindezh (Sain Qal'eh), Solduz, on the Vezne plateau and on the upper reaches of the Laven. At present they are subject to Kurdish tribes, and have to a considerable extent assimilated their culture and way of life. The main differences are in the language and in religious allegiance, the Turkish nomads being Shi'i Muslims. Some of these tribes spend the summer in the western part of this area and then return to Iraq for the winter.

"The Karapapakhs (10-15,000) live to the east of Ushnu, in the Solduz region, which was conquered by the Mukri Kurds in the fifteenth century. The Karapapakhs came here at the time of the Russo-Persian war of 1828 from Transcaucasia (the Borchalo rayon, now the Marneuli rayon, of Georgia). The then Viceregent of Azarbayjan, Abbas-Mirza, gave them the Solduz area as a feudal domain or tiyul, and laid on them the obligation to keep 400 horsemen in fighting trim. The Karapapakhs, on their arrival 800 families strong in Solduz, found there more than 4,000 families of the Kurdish Mamash tribe and Turkish nomads who had previously emigrated from Transcaucasia (the Kazakh rayon of Azerbaydzhan). They mixed with the latter and assimilated them.

"The Karapapakhs consist of one ashiret tribe divided into the following clans: the Terkyavyun, Saraya, Araply, Janahmadli, Chakharly and Ulachly. The Terkyavyun clan is the khan clan to which belongs the family of the Karapapakh khans, the descendents of Mehdi-khan Borchalo who brought the Karapapakhs to Solduz. (16) The Karapapakhs differ very little from the Kurds as regards their social-economic structure, way of life and culture. The chief differences between them are those of language and religion, the Karapapakhs being Shi'i Muslims.

"The Persians and Azarbayjanis (10-15,000) live mainly in the towns, where they are engaged in trades and crafts and also account for a large proportion of civil servants."

Vil'chevskiy, in the third section of his article which is entitled "Economic and Social Relations", writes of the tribal and family structure of the Kurds. Some of the terms he deals with are nasl and ber (clan) which is divided into tire (branches) and united with other clans in the il (tribe), itself united with other tribes to form an ilat (confederation or alliance). The latter half of this section follows in a full translation; minor typographic alterations have been made at the end in the interests of clarity:

"Depending on whether a tribe exercises military power or is subject to other tribes, the entire Kurdish population is divided into two groups which to a certain extent are antithetic: the ashiret and the non-ashiret or rayat Kurds.

"The Arab term ashiret is used by the Kurds in the narrow sense of a tribal chief's bodyguard, which was originally recruited from among the members of his clan. In the course of time an independent ashiret clan was formed from the families and relations of the members of the bodyguard, and in this way the ashiret became a permanent union of a number of Kurdish families round the leader of the tribe. The ashiret is on the one hand a military force used by the head of the tribe to help him subjugate the surrounding nomadic and settled population, and on the other hand the military force of the tribe. Often in the past a military force of ashiret Kurds would enter the service of local feudal lords or of the central government, assuming the duties of defending the frontier or taking part in military expeditions, etc.

"In the course of time many of the ashiret were transformed into big tribes, where the chief clan was ashiret and all the other clans were as it were client-clans. Such client-clans would pay set taxes to the ashiret clan, in return for which the latter pledged itself to defend their interests and permitted them to use its name. (17) The clans belonging to ashiret unions were not usually related to the ashiret clan and frequently belonged in the past to different tribes.

"Those Kurds who, for one reason or another, were unable to establish or maintain ashirets in their midst, or even to become clients of one of the ashiret groups, were gradually transformed into rayat, or serfs, and little by little their clan and tribal structure became a half-forgotten survival. It should also be noted that among the Kurds in Turkey it is the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes which, as a rule, maintain ashirets, whereas among the Kurds of Iraq and in particular of Persia a large number of the ashiret formations are to be found among the settled Kurds.

"The urban population of merchants and craftsmen is in a number of cases outside the clan and tribal framework and is grouped together on a territorial or professional basis. That is how things are, at any rate, with the population of the capital of Mukri Kurdistan, Mahabad, whereas, for instance, the population of the town of Ushnu belongs to the Zerza tribe.

"Relations between separate groups of the population continue to be noticeably affected by the clan and tribal structure, but the latter no longer corresponds to the existing class differentiation, which takes the following form.

"The main mass of the settled rural population is made up of a landless peasantry living in semi-feudal dependence on its landlords. The peasants are, according to the law 'free and at liberty to settle on whichever estate they prefer'. (18) However, various feudal dues levied on the peasants have turned them into the perpetual debtors of their landlords,

and they are not for the most part able to avail themselves of their right to 'unrestricted departure', being without the means to pay off their debts to the landlord even were they to sell all their possessions.

"The main mass of the land, as much as 95 per cent of it, belongs to the landlords. The peasants pay the farmer a set portion of the harvest in addition to the part which is collected as a state levy, usually through the same landlord. The distribution of the harvest between landlord and peasant, with all its diversity depending on local conditions and customs, is determined firstly by the nature of the soil and the crops sown there and secondly by the ownership of the seeds and agricultural implements. Subject to these conditions, the peasant pays his landlord one-fifth of the harvest (dedu) in the case of land which has not been irrigated, one-third of the harvest (sekut) in the case of irrigated land, and one-half of the harvest (nesfekar) in the case of cotton, rice and tobacco crops. If the landlord has provided the seed, he receives no less than one-half of the harvest from irrigated land, and if he has provided both seed and implements he receives as much as two-thirds.

"Land under market-gardens and orchards is leased out on condition that the farmer receives no less than one-third of the harvest. When a peasant leases land from his landlord for the purpose of haymaking, the landlord gets half the crop and, in addition, all the thorn bushes (kikyan), which go for camel-fodder, the dwarf bushes growing on the salt-marshes which serve in the preparation of the alkaline solution used in the drying of grapes, and also the reeds for roofing and for making mats. On top of all this the landlord managed, during the nineteen-forties, to extort from the peasant the following dues and obligations:

- (a) Kharaja: A tax on the right to use pastures, hay crops and woodland belonging to the landlord. To be paid partly in money, partly in kind (hay, firewood, etc.).
- (b) Begar: A corvee of twelve days every year, mostly for the purpose of repairing the irrigation system.
- (c) Supplying the landlord with water. To be taken to him by the wife or daughter of the peasant.
- (d) Periodical gifts to the landlord on festive occasions, at the end of the harvest, on the occasion of weddings in the landlord's family and the birth of children to him, etc. Depending on the prosperity of the peasant and the importance of the event, such gifts take the form of a ram, a domestic fowl, a loaf of sugar, eggs, milk products, fruit and so on.
- (e) The maintenance of horsemen to accompany the landlord's guests, and also

the provision, without payment, of fodder and stabling for their horses.

- (f) Mounted escort for the landlord during his patrols in the region, and also the immediate mustering with arms at the command of the landlord, who is, at one and the same time, head of the tribe, the clan, and the generation, etc.

"Finally, whenever the landlord was in difficulties, the peasants were obliged by custom to pool their resources and come to his help, such assistance being called barbu.(19)

"Apart from this, the taxes collected from peasants went to help the church. Although the tax in aid of the Muslim church (zakat) has been officially abolished by the Persian government, in practice the numerous Muslim clergy and religious organizations continue to collect it. On a yearly average, a peasant pays the church one ram for every 25 sheep or goats and a sack of wheat or barley weighing from 200 to 250 kg., in addition to payments for particular ceremonies.

"In some parts of the region, particularly in the Sardasht and Vezne districts, smallholders are still to be found, whether farming in family units or owning their own land and farming in communities.

"In connection with the breakdown of the patriarchal feudal system and the growth over the past few years of the capitalist system, class distinctions among the peasantry have become very much more marked. Peasants at the present time fall into the following groups:

Poor peasants, renting less than a hectare of land and usually not owning any cattle, account for no less than 30 per cent of the entire rural population.

Middle peasants, renting from one to two and a half hectares of land and owning one or two head of cattle, account for 45 per cent of the rural population.

Prosperous peasants, renting five hectares of land or more and owning five or more head of cattle, account for 10 per cent of the rural population.

Labourers, working on the prosperous peasants' and landowners' farms, account for about 10 per cent of the rural population. A farm labourer receives an average of about 80 puds of wheat a year, clothing, shoes and board, and if he is married, his wife performs without payment small domestic tasks for the master: laundry, fetching water, and suchlike.



"The remaining five per cent of the rural population is made up of craftsmen working with their hands, shop owners and small tradesmen.

"In recent years there has been a tendency for the landowners' farms to increase in size, and some have grown to be as large as 100 hectares or more. Commercial crops such as sugar-beet, tobacco, cotton and rice are cultivated on such farms. This growth of the landowners' farms has led to a reduction in the amount of land to be rented by peasants and consequently to an increase in the number of hired labourers, working on the landowners' farms.

"The nomads graze their animals on common land rented from the feudal lords. The tribal lands in Mukri Kurdistan, unlike the neighbouring regions of Iraq, have long since become feudal property."

## II. RECENT POLITICAL HISTORY

### Vil'chevskiy

The following is a translated extract from the first section of Vil'chevskiy's article on the Mukri Kurds. After a brief outline of their earlier history, Vil'chevskiy goes on to give this account of the recent history of Mukri Kurdistan which, he claims, "played a big part, not only in the Persian democratic movement, but also in the national liberation struggle of the Kurdish people."

"Progressive elements in Murki Kurdistan played a significant part in the struggle against Turkish troops who were attempting to occupy these regions in the years 1905 and 1906 (20), and also in the setting-up of revolutionary anjomans (local self-government committees) in Mahabad, Saqqez and other towns at the time of the Persian Bourgeois Revolution of 1907-11 . (21)

"During the First World War Mukri Kurdistan was more than once occupied by Turkish and Tsarist Russian troops, who plundered the local population, imposed indemnities on them, and suchlike. (22) In December 1914, the Turks killed the last Mukri sardar, Mohammad Hosayn Khan. As the war drew to a close, famine came to the pillaged and devastated area, and this led to popular agitation, which the activities of the revolutionary organizations in the Russian forces helped to intensify. As a result of this, after the Great October Socialist Revolution and the withdrawal of the Tsarist troops from Persia, a revolutionary movement (23) began to be formed in Mukri Kurdistan, and self-governing regions sprang up. These events were directly connected not only with the growth of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Persia (the Gilan revolution and the liberation movement in Persian Azarbayjan), but also with the analogous

events in other regions of Kurdistan (the movement of Shaikh Mahmud of Barzinjan and of Ismail Khan Avdoi Shekkak).

"It was not until the end of the nineteen-thirties that Reza Shah succeeded, with the help of punitive expeditions (24) which were dispatched to Mukri Kurdistan, in bringing the area under Persian administration. At the beginning of the Second World War, after Soviet and British troops had been brought into Persia, power in the area of the so-called 'neutral zone', between the distribution zones of Soviet and British troops, fell into the hands of the Kurds themselves. As far back as 1942 organs of local administration had been set up, and in 1946, in connection with the general growth of the democratic movement in Persia, the autonomous democratic district of the Kurds of Persia came into being, and continued in existence until 1947. The democratic movement in Mukri Kurdistan exercised a powerful influence on the national liberation movement of the Kurds not only in Persia but also in Iraq and Turkey." (25)

### Kurdoyev

In the first section of his chapter on the Kurds in NARODY PEREDNEY AZII, K.K. Kurdoyev gives a summary of Kurdish history. The part of this in which he deals with the history of the last hundred years is translated below in full.

"It was at the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1853-6 that a rising took place under the leadership of Yezdanshir. This was one of the biggest uprisings of the Kurds against the Turkish yoke. The insurgents had as their aim the expulsion of the Turkish invaders, and to this end they strove to unite with other national minorities: the Assyrians, Armenians and Greeks. The insurrection embraced a vast area, from Van to Baghdad. The Turkish garrisons suffered heavy losses, but in the end the rising was put down by Turkish troops. The rising under the leadership of Yezdanshir nevertheless played an important role in the development of the national liberation movement of the Kurds.

"At the end of the nineteenth century, the Turkish government of Abdul Hamid II, aiming at a more successful outcome to his struggle with the Kurdish liberation movement, entered into close alliance with the Kurdish feudal leaders. The Kurdish tribes were recruited into irregular military service, and the tribes and clans formed irregular cavalry units (Hamidiye), led by the representatives of tribal aristocracy. The officers of the Kurdish cavalry were paid a salary and were given plots of land. The formation of the Hamidiye placed the Kurdish masses in a considerably worse position than they had been in theretofore, since the Hamidiye officers 'seized the entire mass of ordinary people and subjected them to their despotic authority' and set about 'plundering, stealing livestock and razing settlements to the ground' (26).

"At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Kurdish liberation movement received a new impetus; new forces entered the arena: students and schoolchildren and the intelligentsia. The first Kurdish newspaper began to be published in 1898, in Cairo at first, and subsequently in Geneva.

"The Russian revolution of 1905-7, which awakened the downtrodden peoples of the East, exercised a strong influence on the national liberation movement of the Kurds.

"At the time of the Persian bourgeois revolution of 1905-11 revolutionary Kurdish anjomans were set up in the towns of Saujbolagh (now Mahabad), Senna (now Sanandaj), Saqqez, and in other towns. One of the first Kurdish revolutionary anjomans was formed in Saujbolagh in 1907, under the leadership of Kazi Fattah. In the same year, in the regions to the west of Lake Reza'iyeh, insurrection broke out among the Kurds under the leadership of the chief of the Shekkak tribe, Jafar-ali. The slogan of the rebels was the establishment of local Kurdish autonomy.

"During the First World War, the territory which was inhabited by the Kurds became one of the bases for military activities. The belligerents carried out mass requisitions of livestock and equipment, laid waste Kurdish villages and in some regions killed the local Kurdish population. Turkish troops had a special part to play in the extermination of Kurds during the First World War; they annihilated the Kurdish population both on Turkish and on Persian territory. 'With my own eyes' writes the Kurdish public figure, A. Yamolki, 'I saw the great number of corpses of innocent peasants with which the roads of Persia were strewn at that time.' (27) As the war drew to a close, the lands of the Kurds were devastated and famine, epidemics and destitution reigned among the Kurdish population.

"The interval between the two world wars, and in particular the period after the Great October Revolution, which introduced a new era in the national liberation movement of the peoples of the East, saw an unbroken succession of big and small uprisings among the Kurds in Iraq, Turkey and Persia. Not all the Kurdish insurrections, however, were of a progressive and liberating nature. In a number of cases the imperialists, in pursuance of their policy of enslaving the countries of south-west Asia, took advantage of the Kurdish leaders and the popular masses struggling for their independence to put pressure on the Turkish, Persian and Iraqi governments with the purpose of interfering in the internal affairs of those countries.

"In Turkey the biggest uprisings took place in 1925, 1927, 1928, 1930 and 1937. The authorities made short work of those who participated in the uprisings and of the peaceful Kurdish population. Suffice it to say that, according to approximate statistics, between 1925 and 1927 alone up to 500,000 Kurds were put to death in Turkey.

"In Iraq the Kurdish national liberation movement took on an anti-British colour. In 1919 the Kurds of Barzinjan, led by their shaikh, Mahmud, expelled the British from Sulaimaniya, and only the dispatch of a large force of British troops restored British rule here. Between 1929 and 1932 revolts broke out among the Kurds of Barzan and Barzinjan, who fought under the banner of the struggle for Kurdish national autonomy.

"In 1933 the Barzanis again rose up against the Anglo-Iraqi administration, but this time also the Iraqi government, aided by the British air force, brutally suppressed the uprising.

"In Persia, after the Reza Shah government came to power in 1925, exploitation of the labouring masses and persecution of the national minorities were intensified. Kurds were forbidden to appear in the towns in their national costume. Some Kurdish tribes were forcibly resettled in other regions of the country. All this provoked a wave of Kurdish uprisings. Under Reza Shah, the movement of the Kurds of the Shekkak tribe which had begun in 1918 continued under the leadership of Ismail-gha Avdoi. Important uprisings took place in 1925, 1926, 1928, 1930 and 1937.

"Nevertheless, the Kurdish national liberation movement entered on its greatest period of expansion after the Second World War when, as a result of the crushing of Hitler Germany and Japan, a new and powerful impetus was given to the national liberation struggle in colonial and dependent countries."

The last section of K.K. Kurdoyev's chapter is called "The National Liberation and Democratic Movement" and is translated below in full.

"The Kurds are among the most downtrodden peoples of south-west Asia, and the Kurdish question remains one of the most critical and complicated questions in the contemporary world.

"The national liberation movement of the Kurds expanded with new force during and after the Second World War. A mass movement of the Kurds of Iraq under the leadership of the Barzani chieftain Molla Mustafa was initiated as far back as 1943. The movement embraced a wide selection of the democratic elements of the population, and among those who joined it were the representatives of various Kurdish organizations and of the intelligentsia and Kurdish officers in the Iraqi army. In its official conversations with Molla Mustafa the Iraqi government admitted the demands made by the Kurds, which included the recognition of national autonomy, the institution of bourgeois democratic liberties and the liberation of insurgents from prison. It was not long, however, before the regent and parliament repudiated this agreement. Motorized units and air formations under the general command of British officers were hurled at the insurgents. In spite of this, the movement of Kurds under the leadership of Molla Mustafa continued until 1945, when the insurgents withdrew fighting into Persia and joined up with the national

liberation movement of the Kurds of Persia.

"The national liberation movement of the Kurds of Persia assumed vast proportions during the Second World War. In 1945 the Democratic Party of Kurdistan was formed, with a membership made up of representatives of the progressive intelligentsia, the national bourgeoisie, landowners and clergy. The party's first session took place in Mahabad in 1945. At this session the party rules and programme were adopted, and an appeal was issued to the Kurds in which the following demands were made: the granting of national autonomy to Persian Kurdistan, the election of a Kurdistan regional enjumen, the introduction of the Kurdish language in the schools and the business correspondence of Persian Kurdistan, the appointment of Kurdish nationals to government posts in Persian Kurdistan, and the promulgation of agrarian legislation. (28)

"The appeal stated that the Democratic Party of Kurdistan would fight for the economic and cultural renaissance of the Kurdish people, using to this end the natural riches of Kurdistan, for the development of agriculture and the extension of the network of popular educational establishments, and for the forging of fraternal unity between the Kurdish people and the other peoples of Kurdistan, such as the Assyrians and the Armenians. A session of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan was convened on the 11th of January, 1946, in Mahabad, when the autonomy of a Kurdish democratic district was officially proclaimed. This district covered the regions of Mahabad, Ushnu, Mianduab, Sardasht, Saqqez, Sanandaj, Reza'iyeh, Khuy, Shahpur and Maku. An autonomous Kurdish government was elected, with the hereditary kazi of Mahabad, Kazi Mohammad, at its head. This government concluded on the 17th April 1946 a treaty of friendship and mutual aid with the autonomous government of Persian Azarbayjan. The treaty envisaged the combined struggle of the Kurdish and Azarbayjani peoples, together with the democratic forces of all the peoples of Persia, against reaction. The Mahabad government set up a Kurdish militia and army to preserve order in Persian Kurdistan. Schools were opened in Kurdish villages where the instruction was in the Kurdish language. Kurdish belles-lettres and educational and socio-political literature began to be published officially, as well as the newspaper KURDISTAN.

"This attempt by Persian Kurds to achieve national autonomy roused the reactionary forces in Persia to violent antagonism. At the end of 1946 and the beginning of 1947 the democratic movement was suppressed. Thousands of Kurdish patriots were executed, tortured in concentration camps and forcibly resettled in the south of the country. A brutal military reign of terror came into force throughout Persian Kurdistan.

"The democratic elements among the Kurdish people know well that the natural way leading to a settlement of the 'Kurdish question' involves uniting working-class Kurds with the progressive forces of the Persian,

Turkish and Iraqi peoples and setting up a united front to struggle for freedom and democracy.

"The Kurds are continuing to struggle for their national liberation and their human rights. Twice since the destruction of Kurdish autonomy in Persia there have been armed uprisings among the Kurds, in 1948 and 1950. The latter uprising was crushed by a detachment of the Persian forces twenty thousand strong with tank and air support. The struggle continued none the less. News of peasant uprisings in Persian Kurdistan never left the pages of the Tehran newspapers in the spring and summer of 1952. The peasants were seizing the estates of the landowners, stopped paying the landlords their dues in kind, and were putting up resistance to the gendarmes. In Iraq the Kurdish working-classes were also continuing the struggle for their rights, in cooperation with all the progressive democratic forces in the country. In 1949, for instance, when the British authorities executed the secretary of the Iraqi communist party, Yusuf Salman, the voices not only of the Arab but also of the Kurdish working-classes of Iraq were raised in protest." (29)

### III. MODERN WRITING

#### Kurdoyev

The fifth section of K.K. Kurdoyev's work includes a broad outline of Kurdish language and literature. What follows is a full translation of the passage from "Language and Spiritual Culture" which deals with recent literature.

"Kurdish periodicals owe their origin to the national liberation movement of the Kurds. The first periodicals were published in Istanbul, Cairo, Geneva and London (1908-18). After the First World War Kurdish periodicals began to be published in Baghdad, Sulaimaniya, Ruwandiz, Erbil and some other towns. At the present time literature in the Kurdish language is only being published in Syria, the Lebanon and Iraq. In Persia, and more especially in Turkey, not only is the publication and distribution of works in the Kurdish language persecuted; reading and keeping copies of such works receive similar treatment. Contemporary Kurdish poets and writers - Nariman, Bekas, Sabri, Dilsoz, Kadrijan, Arakol Azizan, Jagarkhun Khazhar, Guran, and others - portray in their works the hard lot of the Kurdish people, their lack of rights and their striving towards national independence, and the sympathy felt by working-class Kurds for the Soviet Union."

#### Vil'chevskiy

After giving an account of literature produced in Mukri Kurdistan down to the

poet Misbah, Vil'chevskiy concludes the final section of his article on the Mukri Kurds, the section called "Language, Literature and Folklore", with the following paragraphs on recent literature in the area. A full translation is given.

"New literature in the southern dialect of Kirmanji underwent a particularly vigorous development after the First World War. An anthology of works written at this period was published in 1941 by Refik Khel'mi (30) and is not bad. This literature came to be one of the most vital factors in the development of the Kurdish liberation movement. Both the Kurds of Iraq and those of Mukri Kurdistan took part in establishing it. Among the eminent representatives of this literature mention must be made of Piremerd, the first Kurdish journalist and author of the project to latinize the southern dialect of Kirmanji (31), Amin Zaki, the author of the two-volume HISTORY OF THE KURDS AND OF KURDISTAN (32), Rashid Khelmi, Merivani, Gurani, and, finally, Said Hosayn Khuzni Mukriani, known deservedly as 'the Father of Kurdish Printing'. Hosayn Khuzni left his home town of Mahabad as a youth and first worked as a type-setter in Syria. He then settled down permanently in Ruwandiz, where he set up the first Kurdish printing-house and zincographer's shop. From the pen of Hosayn Khuzni has come a great deal of work on the history of Kurdistan and, in particular, solid and reputable work on the history of his native Mukri Kurdistan. (33)

"During the Second World War, and in particular during the life of the autonomous democratic district of Persian Kurdistan, the centre of the literature in the southern dialect of Kirmanji was transferred to Mahabad. Between 1942 and 1946 a considerable output of print was published here. Besides the magazine NISHEMAN (Motherland), mention should be made of the organ of the Democratic Party of the Kurds of Persia, the newspaper KURDISTAN, in whose literary section were printed the works of Kurdish writers and translations of the works of contemporary world literature.

"One of the most interesting features of that period was the restoration of the ancient Kurdish institute of people's poets whose works closely resemble that of the ashugs (bards) of the peoples of Soviet Central Asia and Transcaucasia. Using popular methods of literary composition, they wrote on the burning topics of the day and read their works at assemblies of the people, popular celebrations, etc. The best among these compositions were then polished and published. The greatest people's poet of Mukri Kurdistan is Khezhar, who had a collection of his poems published in Tabriz in 1945."

#### Aristova

A brief summary of the Kurdish press concludes Mme. Aristova's article, and is translated here in full.

"After the Second World War Kurds active in Tehran published the

newspaper KOHESTAN. In Persian Kurdistan at the present time there are two Persian-language newspapers being published. They are TUFANEYE GARB (in Kermanshah) and SANANDAJ (in Sanandaj), the editors of both of which are Kurds.

"A number of research students have remarked on the existence of a large number of literary compositions from the pens of Persian Kurds (34) in the Kurdish language (in manuscript form). The publication in printed form of works in the Kurdish language has not taken place on any large scale in Persian Kurdistan, and Kurdish literature has mainly been published in Turkey and Iraq. At the beginning of the First World War there were some issues of the magazine KURDISTAN published in Mahabad. In 1920, in the town of Salmas, the magazine KURDISTAN came out, published by Ismail Khan, the leader of the Kurds of the Shekkak tribe. (35) Between 1942 and 1947, Kurdish books and periodicals were printed in Mahabad in connection with the setting up there of the autonomous democratic district of the Kurds of Persia."

#### IV. TOWNS

Vil'chevskiy devotes a whole section, 2,200 words in length and with two illustrations, to "Towns and Urban Life" in his article on the Mukri Kurds. He remarks that the towns of Mukri Kurdistan have characteristically Kurdish features. Most of this section, four-fifths of it in fact, deals with Mahabad: its history, geographical situation and layout, buildings, ancient monuments, amenities, clothing, furniture and domestic utensils, the working-class elements, bourgeois leaders, proletariat and its political activities, alcohol, opium, gambling, cinema, drama, and "the festival of the false emir."

What has been translated below includes all that Vil'chevskiy writes on the other towns besides Mahabad. On Mahabad only his comment on the population is given.

"The biggest Kurdish town and the capital of Mukri Kurdistan is Saujbolagh (Sablakh in Kurdish), which Reza Shah renamed Mahabad. It has a population of about 16,000 (36), of which 80 per cent are Kurds and the other 20 per cent are made up of Armenians, Assyrians, Jews, Persians and Azarbayjanis..."

"All the other Kurdish towns of Mukri Kurdistan are unlike Mahabad in that they have not sprung up recently but established themselves as the non-Kurdish population was ousted from towns already existing. The Kurds gave the towns in which they settled the same composite features which have been noted above in Mahabad. The biggest towns of Mukri Kurdistan are the following:



Bokan. A small town situated not far from the right bank of the Simineh Rud river. At the junction of roads leading from Tabriz to Sanandaj, Kermanshah and the border of Iraq, Bokan is very important as a trans-shipping point for transit trade. The town has more than 600 houses, four caravansarais, a bazaar with 200 stalls, two Sunni mosques and a bathhouse. (37) The town's population is made up of more than 3,000 Kurds and Jews. Under the Qajars Bokan belonged to the governor of Saujbolagh, Mohammad Hosayn Khan, the Mukri sardar.

Sardasht. A small town in the south-western corner of Mukri Kurdistan, near the Persian-Iraqi frontier. There are about 650 houses in the town, a bazaar with 150 stalls, two caravansarais, four mosques and a bathhouse. The population numbers over 2,000 Armenians and Assyrians.

Shahindezh. (Sain Qal'eh). This is a small town on the right bank of the Zarinah Rud. There are about 2,500 houses, ten caravansarais, a bazaar with 200 stalls, a Shi'i mosque and several baths. The population numbers over 3,000 Afshars, Kurds, Persians, Armenians, Assyrians and Jews. Most of the population is Shi'i Muslim, which includes the followers of the Shi'i sect of Ahl-E-Haqq.

Saqqez. A town on the upper reaches of the Zarinah Rud, to the west of Baneh. It contains about 2,000 houses, four caravansarais, a bazaar with 600 stalls, eight mosques and five bathhouses. The population numbers about 12,000, most of which are Kurds but with some Jews, Assyrians and Armenians as well. Saqqez was for a long time the capital of the Kurdish dynasty of the Bekzade of Saqqez who trace their origin back to the Mervanids.

Baneh. (Barozha in Kurdish, meaning the eastern mountain slope). This is a small town near the Persian-Iraqi frontier, lying on the river Baneh, a tributary of the Kiveru. In Baneh there are about 900 houses, two caravansarais, a bazaar with 200 stalls, ten mosques and three bathhouses. The population of more than 4,000 is made up mostly of Kurds, but there are some Jews and Armenians as well. Baneh is situated at the junction of routes from Mukri Kurdistan to Iraq and is an important point for trade with that country.

Naqadeh. A small town, not far from the southern shore of Lake Reza'iyeh and on the left bank of the river Chume-Baizova, a tributary of the Gadyr-Chay. There are more than 500 houses in the town, a bazaar with 50 stalls, a hospital built about twenty years ago, a small Shi'i mosque and the palace of the Karapapakh khans, whose residence is in Naqadeh. The population is over 1,000, most of which are Karapapakhs, Kurds, Jews and Armenians. Naqadeh is the administrative and trade centre of the Solduz district.

Ushnu. A small town on the river Gadyr-Chay between Naqadeh and Reza'iyeh and somewhat further west than those places. It lies on both banks of the Gadyr-Chay, which is crossed by a bridge in the centre of the town joining the two halves of the bazaar. There are bazaar stalls also on the bridge. There are more than 700 houses, a bazaar with 200 stalls, a mosque, bathhouses and the palace of the khans of the Zerza tribe. The population of Ushnu amounts to something like 3,500, most of which are Kurds. Like Baneh, Ushnu is a great centre for trade between Mukri Kurdistan and Iraq, and roads lead through the town from the shores of Lake Reza'iyeh to Iraq."

. . .

Comment by Mr. C.J. Edmonds, author of KURDS, TURKS AND ARABS

This material is obviously the result of very considerable study not only of existing published sources but of conditions among the Kurdish population of Persia. The material varies a good deal in quality: the study by Vil'chevskiy is the best in every respect, since he evidently knows the language and much of the information he provides gives the impression of being the result of first-hand enquiry. The other sources which he quotes include Minorskiy, who is first class, and Belyayev and Arakelyan, both of whom I should judge to be sound.

Kurdoyev appears to have relied for his lists of tribes on the Kurdish writer Amin Zaki, who relied for much of his material not on first-hand knowledge but on some early British lists compiled by Mark Sykes and others. The best list of tribes after Vil'chevskiy is that contained in SOVREMENNYI IRAN.

Kurdoyev's section on recent political history is of some interest, although it contains a very marked Soviet bias.

Notes

The following notes are all those of the authors.

- (1) Some sources give a higher figure for the number of Kurds up to 7m. but the MEMORANDUM SUR LA SITUATION DES KURDES ET LEUR REVENDICATION, Paris 1948, sent by Kurdish political organizations to the UNO claims a population of 9m. for Kurdistan. This figure includes, however, the entire population of the Kurdish regions, where there are up to 2.5m. non-Kurds. As against this, Persian, Iraqi and Turkish sources, denying the existence of the Kurds as a separate people, give numbers only of nomadic and semi-nomadic Kurdish tribes, and indiscriminately count all the settled population, and in particular the urban population, in with the ruling nationality. But in view of the fact

that the census is made for the purpose of tax-collecting or in connection with army recruitment, the tribes try to dodge it and frequently migrate over the frontier at the time of a census. Moreover, sometimes there are tribes moving about on both sides of the state frontier as, for example, the Kharki, who winter in Iraq but in summer migrate across Turkish territory into Persia. It follows that the figures for the tribes will vary according to the season when the census is taken. Turkish statistics only indicate those who admit Kurdish as their mother tongue. In all these cases the figure given for the Kurdish population is considerably lower than the actual figure.

- (2) All these boundaries are of recent origin. The oldest among them - the Persian-Turkish - was finally established in 1914 (see MATERIAL PO IZUCHENIYU VOSTOKA, izd-vo. MID, Petrograd, 1915, No.2). The other boundaries came into being at the end of the First World War as a result of the break-up of the Ottoman empire.
- (3) The latest report giving information on these matters appears in an Arabic translation of the work of a Kurdish historian: A HISTORY OF THE KURDS AND OF KURDISTAN, A.Zaki, Cairo, 1936, Vol.I, pp.466-8. However, even in this most careful report, the Dravidian tribe of the Brahui are reckoned in with the Kurds of Baluchistan. The British press reported in 1943 on an uprising among the Kurdish tribes of the Sind.
- (4) For a detailed list of Kurdish tribes, with an indication of their numbers, distribution and division into clans, see A.Zaki (op.cit., Vol.1, pp.393-468). In Russian there is the work of Aver'yanov, KURDY V VOYNAKH ROSSII S PERSIYEV I TURTSIYEV, Tiflis, 1900.
- (5) More details are given in S.I.Bruk's article "Etnicheskiy sostav i razmeshcheniye v stranakh Peredney Azii", TRUDY IN-TA ETNOGRAFIY IM. MIKLUKHO-MAKLAYA, No.39, 1958, pp.73-109.
- (6) See the GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF PERSIA, Tehran, 1952, Vols.IV and V. (In Persian Vol. IV - pp. 512: 24,268,329; Vol.V - pp.242: 46,359,254.)
- (7) Details about the Kurdish tribes of Persia are given in the following works: A MILITARY GEOGRAPHY OF PERSIA, A.Razmara, Vol.V; THE KURDS AND KURDISTAN, M.A.Zaki, Baghdad, 1931, Vol.I, Pt.2, (in Kurdish); THE GEOGRAPHY OF PERSIA, M.Keykhan, Tehran, 1931, Vol.III, (in Persian); "The Tribes of Western Iran", W.Minorsky, JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 1945, Vol.LXXV, Pt.1-2.

- (8) On the Kurdish tribes of other parts of Persia see the following works: SBORNIK KONSUL'SKIKH DOKLADOV. SEVERNAYA PERSIYA, NKID, 1933; "Notes on the ethnology of Khurasan", W.Ivanow, THE GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL, 1926, Vol. LXVII, No.2; "Ocherk vooruzhenykh sil Persii v 1883 g.", Kolyubakin, SBORNIK MATERIALOV PO AZII, St.Petersburg, 1884, Vol.XI; KURDY. ZAMETKI I VPECHATLENIYA, V.F.Minorskiy, Petrograd, 1915; PERSIA, A. Wilson, London, 1932; "Persidskiy Beludzhistan"; V.Berezkin, BYULLETEN' PRESSY SREDNEGO VOSTOKA, Tashkent, 1928, Nos. 6-7; V GYURGENSKOY DOLINE, Tashkent, 1931; A MILITARY GEOGRAPHY OF PERSIA, M.Keykhan.
- (9) A MILITARY GEOGRAPHY OF PERSIA, Keykhan, Tehran, 1931, Vol.II, pp.109, 175, 176, (in Persian); A SHORT HISTORY OF THE KURDS AND OF KURDISTAN, A. Zaki, Cairo, 1936-45, Vol. II, pp.446-8 (in Arabic); GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF PERSIA, Tehran, 1945-52, Vol.IV.
- (10) See "Ocherk severo-vostochnoy chasti Persidskogo Kurdistana", D.Belyayev, IZVESTIYA SHTABA KAVKAZSKOGO VOYENNOGO OKRUGA, 1910, No.29, p.22.
- (11) As V.F.Minorskiy remarks, "In Sheref-name it is explained that the Bilbas and Kavalis are associated with the Baban tribe, this being substantiated by their almost completely identical languages". (MATERIALY PO IZUCHENIYU VOSTOKA, vyp.2, p.466).
- (12) See "Kurdy v Persii", A.A.Arakelyan, IZVESTIYA KAVKAZSKOGO OTD. RGO, 1904, Vol. XVII, No.1, p.8.
- (13) See MATERIALY PO IZUCHENIYU VOSTOKA, vyp.2, pp. 466-8.
- (14) D.Belyayev writes of them as tribes "who have lost their clan structure and their isolation and have mixed with other tribes, forming the agricultural population on lands belonging to Mukri families". (Op.cit., pp.7-8.)
- (15) Mame-Alan, the hero of the biggest Kurdish epic MAME I ZINE, was descended from this clan, which was perhaps connected originally with the North-Caucasian Alans (see "Svedeniya o naselenii nekotorykh pogranychnykh okrugov", V.F.Minorskiy, MATERIALY PO IZUCHENIYU VOSTOKA, vyp.2, p.438).
- (16) In 1943 the Karapapakh Kuli Khan Borchalo presented the Akademiya Nauk of Georgia with the property deeds to Borchalo which had been given by the shahs of Persia to his forebears and preserved in his clan.
- (17) Cf. Arakelyan, (Op.cit., pp.13-14.) "If the aga or a high-born Kurd from one tribe insult or strike a simple Kurdish ploughman from another tribe, the latter has no right to raise a hand against the aga who insulted him; all he can do is to complain to his own aga or anybody of noble birth in his tribe who may then demand satisfaction from the insulter."

- (18) See under Soudzbulak (sic) in DONESENIYA ROSSIYSKIKH KONSUL'SKIKH PREDSTAVITELEY, A.I.Iyas, Izd-vo.Ministerstva Torgovli, 1914, No.38, p.27. See also D.Belyayev, (Op.cit., p.9.)
- (19) Cf. D.Belyayev, (Op.cit., pp.25-26.)
- (20) See "Poyezdka po severnomu persidskomu Kurdistanu", A.I.Iyas, MATERIALY PO IZUCHENIYU VOSTOKA, vyp.2; Book 4, pp.182-200.
- (21) MATERIALY PO IZUCHENIYU VOSTOKA, vyp.2, pp.38, 464; "Zapiska o Kurdistane", Benzengr, SBORNIK GEOGRAFICHESKIKH, TOPOGRAFICHESKIKH I STATISTICHESKIKH MATERIALOV PO AZII, vyp. LXXXIV, St. Petersburg, 1911, pp. 30-31.
- (22) KURDISTAN AND KURDISH UPRISINGS, Abd-ol-Aziz Yamolki, Tehran, 1946, pp.57, 65 (in Kurdish); IZVESTIYA MID, 1915, Vol. IV, p.178 et seq.
- (23) "After the February revolution there was a great movement among the Kurds in favour of an understanding between free Kurds and free Russia. There were some big gatherings and people were sent to us for negotiations." (REVOLYUTSIYA I FRONT V.Shklovskiy, Petrograd, 1921, p.87.); "The spirit of Bolshevism was in the air", wrote the British General Dunsterville, who arrived in nearby Hamadan in February 1918. According to him, the programme of the revolutionary masses of western Persia was "a combination of an anti-European movement with attempts to create such disorder that every poor man might seize hold of the treasures of the rich". (BRITANSKIY IMPERIALIZM V BAKU I PERSII 1917,1918, Denstervil', Tiflis, 1925, pp. 51, 105.)
- (24) Local figures give the population of Mukri Kurdistan before the First World War as over 300,000 and show a drop to 90,000 by the end of the nineteen-thirties.
- (25) LES KURDES ET LE DROIT, L.Rambout, Paris, 1947.
- (26) Aver'yanov, (Op.cit., pp.277-9.)
- (27) THE KURDS AND KURDISH UPRISINGS, Abd-ol-Aziz Yamolki, Tehran, 1946 (in Turkish).
- (28) OCHERK ISTORII IRANA, M.S.Ivanov, Moscow, 1952, p.377.
- (29) BULLETIN DU CENTRE D'ETUDES KURDES (Paris), 1949, No.5, p.8.

- (30) KURDISH POETRY AND PROSE, Baghdad, 1941 (in Kurdish). See also COLLECTED VERSE OF KURDISH POETS, Molla Abdul Kerim, Baghdad, 1941 (in Kurdish). Bibliographies of literature in the southern dialect of Kirmanji are given in the following works: "A Kurdish Newspaper", A. Edmonds, JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 1921, Vol. XXII; "A Bibliography of the Southern Kurdish. 1920 - 1936", *ibid.*, 1937, Vol. XXIV; "Bibliograficheskiy Obzor Zarubezhnykh Kurdsikh Pechatnykh Izdaniy V XX Stoletii", O. Vil'chevskiy, in the symposium IRANSKIYE YAZYKI, Vol. 1, Moscow-Leningrad, 1945.
- (31) Piremerd is the pseudonym of Khadzhi Tefvik, the editor of the oldest Kurdish newspaper in Sulaimaniya ZHIYAN.
- (32) The first volume was published in the Kurdish language in Baghdad in 1931.
- (33) MUKRI KURDISTAN, Vol. I, Kh. Khuzni Mukriani, Ruwandiz, 1936 (in Kurdish). A list of the works of Kh. Khuzni is given in Vil'chevskiy's bibliography [See (30) above].
- (34) "Vyrazheniye fonetiki pis'ma v persidskom pis'me", Yu.N. Marr, IZVESTIYA AN/SSSR, 1934, No. 2; CATALOGUE OF PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN BRITISH MUSEUM, Rieu.
- (35) See Vil'chevskiy's bibliography [See (30) above].
- (36) GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF PERSIA, Vol. IV, p. 572. At the time the author of this article visited Mahabad in 1942-5 there were not fewer than 25,000 inhabitants.
- (37) All information on buildings in the towns refers to the early nineteen-forties.

THE SOVIET PRESS ON THE  
UPRISING IN TIBET

From the 29th March 1959 and throughout the following month PRAVDA carried reports, some of them over 1,000 words in length, on the Tibetan uprising and the subsequent events and reactions to it in Tibet and China. With very few exceptions these reports began by quoting TASS in Peking and the New China News Agency. The exceptions, for which only TASS in Peking was quoted as the source, were reports of the opening session of the All-China Committee of the People's Political Consultative Council of China (P. 18.4.59) and of the National People's Congress (P. 21, 23, 24.4.59). The only comments on the situation in Tibet carried by these reports were, however, those of Chinese and Tibetans, and the only information given apparently independently of the New China News Agency consisted of factual reports of these meetings. Thus, for example, PRAVDA of the 23rd April 1959 began and ended its report by summarizing the speeches made at the first session of the National People's Congress on 22nd April and listing those present; the middle section, which amounted to two thirds of the report, gave the Panchen Lama's speech "as reported by the New China News Agency".

Two articles appeared in PRAVDA during this period: "The Collapse of the Reactionary Revolt in Tibet", signed by PRAVDA's own correspondent, V. Ovchinnikov, which appeared on the 30th March 1959, and "The Failure of Imperialist Provocation", signed by "Observer" in PRAVDA of the 5th April 1959. The first of these, about 800 words long, reported on current events in Tibet with references to the Chinese Press, but was mostly given over to a broader outline of the situation. Tibet, Ovchinnikov wrote, had the right to a national oblast autonomy enshrined in the agreement of 23rd May 1951 between the Central Government and local Tibetan authorities. All authority apart from foreign affairs and questions of state defence belonged to the local Tibetan power. The Preparatory Committee for the setting up of the Tibetan autonomous region, which was formed in 1956, made little headway, Ovchinnikov said, "as may be seen from the reports in the Chinese Press". He then described how reactionaries upholding the feudal slave-owners prevented any reforms being made and made use of their positions to form armed bands, receiving support from Chang Kai shek, imperialist circles and influences emanating from Kalimpong, while "the overwhelming majority of the population of Tibet were poor farmers and stockbreeders, impatiently waiting to be liberated from the yoke of feudal serfdom". The article concluded by claiming that the revolt had served the purpose of hastening the downfall of the reactionary forces, thus opening "a new page in the history of Tibet".

The article by "Observer" was about 2,000 words in length. Much of it was taken up with quotations of the Panchen Lama, a Peking worker, the PEOPLE'S DAILY, and the chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Society, the last two being quoted in reply to criticisms made by the US Press and State Department and the Pakistan Press. "Observer's" own comments were all in support of the Chinese Government which had "respected the national traditions, local peculiarities and religious feelings of the Tibetans" and had given them "disinterested aid" since 1951. Now that the Tibetan people had unmasked the wicked schemes of imperialist reaction they were resolved to "continue their struggle for the development of a new, democratic and socialist Tibet. . . The failure of the Tibetan revolt once again lends force to the obvious truth that every attempt by imperialists in any part of the great socialist camp to restore the old order hated by the people is inevitably doomed to failure. . . The actions of the Chinese People's Republic cannot fail to find support among all people who stand for non-interference by states in the internal affairs of other states, for the lessening of international tension, for peace and friendship among peoples."

None of the Chinese attacks on India reported in the TIMES of the 25th, 27th and 28th April 1959 appeared in PRAVDA, and the only news from India regarding the Tibetan uprising and its aftermath was to the effect that Mr. Nehru had told Parliament of the Dalai Lama's arrival in India (P. 4.4.59). This brief report quoted TASS in Delhi.

In the period under review (up to the 28th April) PRAVDA carried reports or articles on Tibet and the subsequent events on 24 days out of the 31. The newspapers of the six Muslim republics of the Soviet Union appeared 26 times during the same period, and only one of them produced an article, and that a brief one of 500 words (PV. 5.4.59), which differed in no way from the PRAVDA line. The space given to reporting news on the subject varied considerably between the newspapers, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY including it in 18 issues and the other newspapers as follows:

PRAVDA VOSTOKA	-	12 issues
KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA	-	10 issues
SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA	-	7 issues
TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA	-	7 issues
KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA	-	6 issues



## N E W S     D I A R Y

## AFGHANISTAN, INDIA, PAKISTAN, PERSIA, SINKIANG

The following diary includes items from newspapers and periodicals received during the period January - March 1959 inclusive. In view of the variety of sources from which the information has been collected, contradictions may occur; no responsibility can be taken for the accuracy of the information given but the source is given for each item.

A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the REVIEW.

. . .

AFGHANISTAN

January

6th. A gift of 1,500 books on various subjects has been received by the Rector of Kabul University from Mr. Voroshilov.  
P. 7.1.59.

7th. Sardar Mohammed Naim, the Afghan Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, arrived in Kabul after a week's visit to the USSR (see CAR, Vol. VII, No.1, p. 101) during which he exchanged views with Soviet leaders on relations between the two countries and on the Middle Eastern situation. Complete agreement was reached on both questions.  
P. 2 - 8.1.59; TI. 10.1.59.

A contract has been signed in Kabul between the Afghan Ministry of Communications and VOSTOKINTORG for supplying Afghanistan with a large part of the material and equipment needed for an air line (vozdushnyaya liniya svyazi) between the country's biggest towns.

KP. 24.1.59.

The Alma-Ata Film Studio plans to produce Kazakh-Afghan films.

SU. 1959, No.107.

February

4th. An agreement was signed in Kabul to establish direct radio-telephonic communication between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

I. 5.2.59.

A group of Soviet orientalists has visited Afghanistan. One of them, A.N. Dvorenkov, deputy director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the AN/SSSR, announced that the help given in various Afghan quarters to Soviet orientalists is greatly assisting them in their programme of studying the history, economy and culture of Afghanistan. He gave details of the work being carried out in these spheres.

TI. 11.2.59.

Soviet, Czech and Rumanian specialists are prospecting for oil in the Bactrian plain.

P.,PV. and BR. 28.2.59.

With the aid of Soviet specialists, roads in Kabul are being reconstructed, eight oil storage depots have been built and work has been started on the country's first factory for nitrogenous fertilizers.

BR. 28.2.59.

Soviet and Afghan specialists are collaborating in the fight to control agricultural pests. Soviet specialists in the control of epizootics are also working in Afghanistan.

PV. 28.2.59.

The King of Afghanistan has ratified the treaty on the transit of Afghan goods over Soviet territory. (See also CAR, Vol.VII, No. 1, p. 101)

KT. 26.2.59.

March 14th. An Afghan Government delegation arrived in Moscow to discuss the economic development of their country.

P. 15.3.59.

Deep exploratory drilling for oil has begun in the Sar-i-Pul region, and preparations have been made for more such drilling in the Shibarghan and other regions where Soviet, Czech and Rumanian specialists are working. (See also CAR, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 94.)

BR. 14.3.59.

A bridge over the Khanabad river on the highway between Kizil-kala and Kabul has been opened to traffic. It was built with the aid of Soviet specialists.

KT. 18.3.59.

## INDIA

January 23rd. Two speeches by Soviet scientists have been delivered

at the 46th session of the Indian Scientific Congress.  
PV. 25.1.59.

26th. Prominent people in Uzbekistan are to address words of welcome in Urdu to the Indian people over the daily wireless transmissions from Tashkent.  
PV. 25.1.59.

February A brick and tile factory is being set up at Srinagar, Kashmir, with Czech assistance and is expected to supply bricks at three-eighths of the present market price.  
FET. April 1959.

March 19th. A Soviet good will delegation has returned to Moscow after a 24-day tour of India. The delegation was invited after the cancellation of the proposed state visit of Marshal Voroshilov. It was headed by Mr. A.A. Andreyev, a member of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet and Mr. N.A. Mukhitdinov, chairman of the foreign affairs commission of the Soviet of Nationalities. Many parts of India were visited, including Kashmir and the Punjab.  
P. 15.2.59; 24.2. - 20.3.59;  
PV. 25,27.2.59; BR. 27.2.59;  
KT. 26.2.59; T. 20.3.59.

The Moscow National Central Puppet Theatre has spent forty days touring India. Mr. Nehru and other Indian leaders have attended performances, the takings for which have been donated to Mr. Nehru's national fund for people in distress.  
LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 10.3.59;  
P. 28.3.59.

The Central state farm at Suratgarh, Rajasthan has been equipped with machines and other implements given by the Soviet Government.  
I. 15.3.59.

### PAKISTAN

January 20th. The Soviet committee of solidarity between the countries of Asia and Africa has sent General Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, a telegram demanding the immediate release of Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Maulyan Abdul Khamid Khan Bhasani. (See also CAR, Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 104.)  
P. 21.1.59; KT. 23.1.59.

24th. Commenting on the Baghdad Pact meeting due to open on the 26th January in Karachi a TASS statement criticized

US intentions to use the meeting to combine existing military alignments, and said that the USSR could not remain indifferent to plans to extend US bases in Turkey, Persia and Pakistan by means of bilateral agreements.

P. 25.1.59.

The Pakistan Government has repudiated the Soviet Government's contention, contained in a document delivered by the Russian Charge d'Affaires, that the bilateral agreement under negotiation between Pakistan and the United States would infringe the Soviet Union's security.

T. 13.1.59.

March

The Soviet Government has agreed to the appointment of Aga Khilali as Pakistan's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union.

I. 10.3.59.

The Soviet committee of solidarity between the countries of Asia and Africa sent a telegram to Faiz Ahmad Faiz (editor of PAKISTAN TIMES arrested under the Safety Act on 15.12.58. Ed.) congratulating him on his release from prison and informing him of the campaign waged on his behalf.

P. 14.3.59.

PERSIA

Items on the recently-concluded Persian-USA military agreement, the Baghdad Pact and the breakdown of Persian-Soviet talks on a treaty of friendship and non-aggression have been omitted from the following diary. This subject has been fully dealt with in THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER (Nos. 3 and 4 of 1959), which include verbatim quotations from important Soviet speeches and articles, and is also published by this Centre. Ed.

. . .

February

Senator Jamal Emami attacked Mr. Khrushchev's recent insulting remarks about the Shah, made in connection with the proposed Persian-USA military agreement. "The present boss of the Kremlin", he said, "must remember the bloody fate of his predecessors. He, too, will go their way."

T. 26.2.59.

SINKIANG

January

A sports delegation from Kazakhstan which visited Sinkiang in the autumn of 1958 (see also CAR, Vol. VI, No. 4, p. 474), has invited the volley-ball and basket-ball players of the Sinkiang-Uygur autonomous region to take part in the ninth

Kazakh Sparta in the autumn of 1959.

SOVETSKIY KAZAKHSTAN, No. 1, 1959.

Soviet scientists have been cooperating with the Academia Sinica in its Sinkiang composite expedition (sic), particularly in connection with irrigation plans in the Tarim valley.

NEW TIMES, Nos. 4, 8, 1959.

February

A documentary film entitled 'POD NEBOM DREVNYKH PUSTYN' (Beneath the Sky of Ancient Deserts), which deals with the Chinese north-west, mostly Sinkiang, has been made by the Moscow and Shanghai studios for popular scientific films.

DRUZHBA, No. 6, 1959.

March

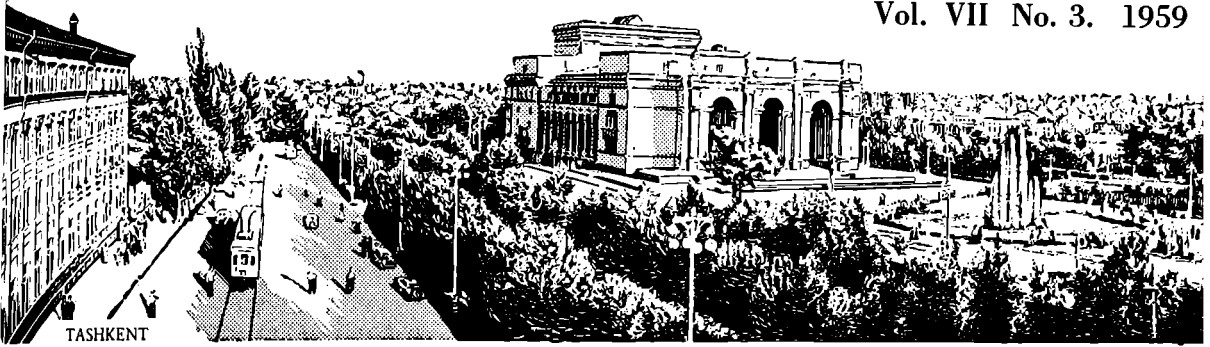
The Lanchow-Urumchi-Aktogay railway has been opened as far as the station of Syadun, 1,010km. from Lanchow. Further west work is proceeding on the section Syadun-Lapochen. The rest of the railway, over 1,300km., is due to be completed in two years: one year in which to cross the Tyan'-Shan' and another year to reach the Kazakh frontier. (See also CAR, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 204-6; Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 153a-6; Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 105.)

A new railway centre to link the Lanchow-Urumchi line, the trunk lines to northern and southern Sinkiang and other local lines is under construction at Urumchi.

KP. 11.3.59; FET. March 1959.



Vol. VII No. 3. 1959



TASHKENT

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A quarterly review of cultural developments in  
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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Review when referring to the Soviet Academies of Sciences, and to newspapers and periodicals etc. employed as sources, are as follows :-

AN/SSSR	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences) of USSR
AN/Kaz. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Kazakh SSR
AN/Kirg. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Kirgiz SSR
AN/Tad. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Tadjik SSR
AN/Turk. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Turkmen SSR
AN/Uzb. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Uzbek SSR
SAGU	Sredneaziatskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet (Central Asian State University)
BR	Bakinskiy Rabochiy
FET	Far East Trade
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda
KT	Kommunist Tadjikistana
KZ	Krasnaya Zvezda
NT	New Times
P	Pravda
PV	Pravda Vostoka
SK	Sovetskaya Kirgiziya
SU	Soviet Union
T	The Times
TI	Turkenskaya Iskra
VVS	Vedemosti Verkhovnogo Soveta

## CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

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## RUSSIA AND ASIA

Since 1955 three new periodicals dealing with Asian affairs and studies have appeared in the Soviet Union: SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE (Soviet Orientalism); SOVETSKOYE KITAYEVEDENIYE (Soviet Sinology); and SOVREMENNIY VOSTOK (The Modern East). This fact, together with the wide range of subjects treated in these periodicals, bears testimony to the great and growing interest taken by the Soviet Union in Asia. This year sees the beginning of yet another journal - PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA (Problems of Orientalism), which constitutes an amalgamation of the first two of the journals already mentioned. This in itself is a development of considerable significance, for it seems that the Soviet Government now wishes the whole of Asia to be dealt with in one academic periodical. SOVREMENNIY VOSTOK has from the beginning been a much more popular publication and will presumably remain so.

Elsewhere in this issue of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW will be found a brief note describing the latest Soviet definition of the USSR's Asian frontiers. This serves as a reminder of a fact which is often overlooked - that a very large part of Asia - rather more than one-third - lies inside Soviet territory and, apart from the many millions of Russian colonists, is peopled by Asian races. This Soviet Asian territory abuts on the Middle East, on South Asia and on China. It is not surprising, therefore, that Asian affairs are a matter of great concern to the Soviet Government.

It is only during the past three or four years that the western academic world has paid any serious attention to Russia as an authority on Asian affairs and as a competitor with the West for the mentorship of Asian countries. Western governments, and particularly that of Britain, have of course been aware of Russia's potentiality as an Asian power for well over a century. But with very few exceptions western orientalists have ignored the huge and important output of Russian publications on Asian subjects. The neglect of this matter is calculated to have serious consequences since much of Soviet writing and thinking on eastern affairs is contained in publications which do not ordinarily come under the scrutiny of sovietologists and

which in any case require an expert knowledge of Asia seldom possessed by sovietologists.

Good examples of the important light thrown on Soviet Asian policy in Soviet academic literature can be found in the articles which appeared in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE and PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA after the XXth and XXIst Party Congresses, and in the report of the activities during 1958 of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, which appeared in VOPROSY ISTORII, No.4 of 1959. The first of these publications was analysed in detail in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.IV, No.4 of 1956, and the last two in the MIZAN NEWSLETTER of May 1959. The significance of writing of this kind may be apprehended from the following quotations taken from MIZAN:

"SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE, No.1 of 1956, in an account of the tasks laid down by the XXth Congress, called for a reassessment of the political role of the national bourgeoisie in eastern countries, citing India and the Arab countries as examples of countries where the national bourgeoisie had been at the front of the anti-imperialist struggle. The journal deplored the fact that 'the dialectical conception of the dual nature of the national bourgeoisie has been replaced by a one-sided conception of it as the faithful ally of imperialism in the struggle against the working masses'. In accordance with the new favourable assessment of the national bourgeoisie, subsequent Soviet writing on the national movements of eastern countries has in general found praise for the role of the bourgeoisie in these movements.

"In contrast with this, according to VOPROSY ISTORII, No. 4 of 1959, the Deputy Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies now complains that in Soviet orientalist work during 1958 'a sufficiently penetrating light has not yet been thrown on such questions as the essential opposition between the working-class and the national bourgeoisie, class distinctions among peasants, the part played by the national bourgeoisie in the exploitation of the peasantry, the connection of the national bourgeoisie with foreign capital, the political parties of the bourgeoisie, their ideology, strategy and tactics at the present stage, and their attitude towards the socialist camp and towards the international communist and workers' movement."

Although there can be no doubt that far too little attention has been paid to these matters in the past, there are encouraging signs that their importance and the need for greater collaboration between Soviet and Asian specialists is at last beginning to dawn on the Western and particularly on the American academic world. During 1957 a careful enquiry into the state of oriental studies in the Soviet Union was carried out by Professor Rodger Swearingen of the University of Southern California and the result published in the JOURNAL OF

ASIAN STUDIES, Vol. XVII, No. 3 of May 1958. In 1958 a conference on The Soviet Union and Asia was held at Bad Aussee under the auspices of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ost, and in June this year a conference on Soviet-Asian Relations was held at Los Angeles under the auspices of the University of Southern California. There have also been a number of books dealing with different aspects of Soviet policy in Asia, of which Walter Laqueur's important work *THE SOVIET UNION AND THE MIDDLE EAST* is the latest. But there is still a great deal of leeway to be made up; and there is still lacking the breadth of view which distinguished Lobanov-Rostovski's excellent but all too brief work *RUSSIA AND ASIA*.

Both the conferences just alluded to gave rise to much interesting and fruitful discussion and brought to light certain important facts as well as some limitations. There was Asian representation at both conferences; that at Los Angeles was much stronger than at Bad Aussee, but still not nearly strong enough. Indeed, at both conferences it was clear that by most of the western nations represented, Asia was considered to be that part of the continent lying east of the Great Wall of China and south of the Himalayas. The Middle East and Pakistan were barely mentioned; Mongolia, Tibet and Sinkiang touched upon only very lightly; and, most curious of all, consideration of the large part of Asia made up of Siberia, Kazakhstan, Soviet Central Asia and Transcaucasia was confined to observations that far too little research had been done on these areas.

It is of course obvious that no single conference could hope to deal in any detail with the whole range of Soviet relations with Asia, and also that, from the American point of view, East Asia poses problems of particular urgency. Nevertheless, the undoubted fact that Russia's concern with Asia derives from her territorial possession of more than one-third of it deserves more consideration than it has so far received.

*CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW* has more than once referred to the need to bridge the gap which exists between Soviet and oriental studies and it makes no apology for returning to the subject again. In the United States more progress has been made in this than elsewhere, but only in respect of the Far East: there are a respectable number of American specialists in Chinese and Japanese affairs who are also familiar with Russian and have a good knowledge of Soviet affairs. In spite of this, however, no systematic and cumulative study of Soviet writing on the Far East seems so far to have been undertaken. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that in matters subject to such incessant changes as Soviet policy in Asia, the prime need is for steady and constant research, the results of which are published at regular intervals. The Central Asian Research Centre is endeavouring to do this for Soviet Central Asia and its immediate borderlands, and in *THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER* has recently extended its scope to the Middle East. But there is a large amount of significant Soviet literature on other Soviet and non-Soviet areas of Asia such as Transcaucasia, Siberia, Mongolia, and Korea, not to speak of China and

Japan, which has so far escaped regular scrutiny, or on which regular information is still not readily available. There is still a dangerous tendency on the part of western orientalists, and particularly of those who cannot read Russian, to underestimate the importance of this literature. It should surely by now have become clear that the critical situation in which the West now finds itself is at least in part due to its persistent minimizing of Soviet ability.

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### Nuclear Research in Central Asia

Not far from Tashkent the Institute of Nuclear Physics of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan is building a nuclear research reactor - the first in Central Asia. The reactor and its accompanying laboratories were due to be completed by the end of June. The apparatus will be used for research into the peaceful uses of atomic energy and for the production of isotopes. The preparations leading up to practical work on the reactor are being carried out by scientists from Uzbekistan, Moscow and Leningrad.

Near the reactor a village is being constructed. It will contain living quarters, creches, a kindergarten, a school, a sports stadium and swimming-pool.

P. 5. 6.59

### Lenin Prizes for Central Asians

Lenin Prizes this year were awarded to two natives of Central Asia, the Kazakh author M.O. Auezov for his novel PUT' ABAYA, and President of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Kh.M. Abdullayev, for his scientific studies published in 1954 and 1957 on the role of granitoids in post-magmatic ore formation.

P. 22. 4.59

### Medical progress in Kirgizia

The fourth medical institute in Kirgizia, an institute of oncology and radiology, was recently opened in Frunze.

During the period 1959-65 research institutes of endocrinology, blood-transfusion, maternity and paediatry will be opened in the republic.

SK. 6. 5.59

THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA :  
SOCIAL CUSTOMS

A large part of this subject has been covered by the previous article in this series on the position of Islam (CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.VII, No.1), and the present article deals with customs of more markedly "secular" character. For a more detailed examination of past and present customs in specific areas, the reader is referred to "The Social Structure and Customs of the Kazakhs", CAR, Vol.V, No.1 and "The Survival of Religious and Social Customs in Uzbekistan", CAR, Vol.VI, No.1. Additional information on the problem of women is to be found in "The Position of Women", CAR, Vol.I, No.3 and "Crime Without Punishment", CAR, Vol.II, No.1.

. . .

A mixture of the old and the new prevails in the social customs of Central Asia as in all other aspects of its life. One of the most important factors in revolutionizing its social customs as a whole has been the suppression of nomadism and the subsequent adaptation of the nomads to the settled way of life, in which some of the customs of nomad communities have little chance to survive. The social customs of this vast area are being reshaped to conform with the Soviet code of behaviour and the consequent decline of old customs among the younger generation is far advanced, particularly in towns.

Soviet literature on the subject divides the vast domain of social customs into two groups. The ones which are considered useful or at least harmless are described as "national" and it is even claimed that "in the years of Soviet rule they have developed further".(1) Among the ones which allegedly have benefited by Soviet mentorship are hospitality and, rather surprisingly, respect for older people. But customs incompatible with the modern way of life and, what is worse, too obviously connected with religion are branded as "feudal-bay survivals". The evident purpose of this description is twofold: first of all it suggests that they did not originate among the lower classes of Central Asian society, which since time immemorial are supposed to have displayed their progressive character by their friendly disposal towards the great Russian people; secondly, it serves as a reminder that the "feudal" bays were the creators of these obnoxious customs and represented the forces of reaction and obscurantism in Central Asia. The field covered by this phrase is impressive: "To this category belong feudal-clan survivals, survivals of the feudal-bay attitude to women, survivals of Islam as the ideology of the ruling class of pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan and survivals of the nomadic way of life".(2) These

survivals are at present more pronounced in the village than in the town. "The socialist town sets an example to the village. . . Even at the present stage of evolution, however, old customs and traditions still persist in the village. This explains why in the villages and auls one meets more often than in the towns with manifestations of the feudal-bay attitude to women, bigamy, marriages of adolescent girls, and the kalym" (bride price). (3) The People's Courts of the South-Kazakhstan oblast in 1955 alone dealt with 109 criminal cases of "feudal-bay" survivals and it is interesting to note that over 90 per cent of the culprits were country people: 85 of them were kolkhozniks, four tractor and combine drivers, two teachers, three kolkhoz bookkeepers and "brigade" leaders. (4)

The official division of customs into "national" and "feudal-bay" has resulted in confusion among the uninitiated: KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA of 31.12.58 complains, "there are still cases of attempts to represent survivals of the past as national traditions and to preserve and cultivate them instead of struggling for their destruction. . . People are still found who regard the drinking of tea from one bowl by a whole party and eating with the hands from a common dish as national traditions." Dosmukhamed Kshibekov, Kazakhstan's censor of morals, regards the latter practice as a nomadic survival and admits that it is still done, even among the intelligentsia. (5)

In no other field is the modernization of Central Asia as striking as in the position of women and consequently in family life. Once women were treated with scorn and called "long hair and short brains", or "ozhiza, zaif" (useless, weak). Proverbs declared, "woman must not have a will, nor a slave - memories", "a son is wealth, a daughter - a burden". Often unwanted daughters were given humiliating names: Doyduk (we have enough), Besdir (sufficient), Ogul'gerek (son wanted). According to the shariat, girls were fit for marriage at the age of nine, boys at twelve, but in practice they were usually married at 12-13 and 15-16 respectively; in some areas, for example in upper Tadjikistan, the age was much lower. Polygamy was limited to the richer classes because of the large amount of the kalym or bride price. In Kazakhstan its usual size was 47 head of cattle, sometimes as much as 60. (6) One of the earliest measures taken by the Soviet authorities was to prohibit this practice. It was considered harmful not only because it made it difficult, if not altogether impossible, for the poor man to marry, but also because it reduced woman to the position of a chattel with attendant abuses and led to the practice of levirate. But the prohibition of kalym has not been completely effective - it may be claimed that, in a way, it may encourage bigamy; there are many complaints to this effect in the press - for example SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA of 7.12.56 attacks the Stalin kolkhoz, Frunze oblast, where there are 18 men with two wives each. It might be thought that the abolition of kalym serves as an encouragement to divorce, for there is no question of wasted money to consider, and it makes women so independent that with the help of Soviet courts they do not hesitate to divorce their husbands. Such cases are far less numerous than those of native men divorcing their wives, but they do occur, as one may gather from the announcements of forthcoming divorce suits published on the last page of the republican newspapers.



In the late 1920s a campaign was organized against the wearing of the parandzha, a sort of cloak worn by women over the head, with a veil hanging from it to cover the face. In Turkmenistan the yashmak was worn instead; this seems to have been a Zoroastrian usage - in ancient Persia women covered their mouths in order not to "defile" fire with their "impure" breath. The authorities organized women's meetings, at which they tried to induce them to throw off the parandzha. A meeting on 8th March 1928 at Osh, Kirgizia, was so successful that 110 women belonging to the families of Komsomol and Party members dispensed with the objectionable garment. A hundred and fifty Uzbek women who were at the meeting followed suit.(7) This action met with much resistance; men tried to force their progressive wives to resume the parandzha and there were numerous cases of the murder of native women who were active in the anti-parandzha campaign; in Uzbekistan in 1929 twenty-one women were murdered in a period of four months.(8) One of them was Aftabay Tagirova who made speeches against the evil custom at public meetings until her husband hired men to murder her. Show trials of such offenders provided practical lessons in westernization to the Central Asians. Cases where the yashmak and parandzha are worn, even by wives of Party officials, still occur and agitation against the practice is still going on. The line it takes may be grasped from the following revelation made by a kolkhoz woman at Pyandzh, Tadzhikistan: "The parandzha is very harmful. It hinders the development of our culture. The destructions of the parandzha will make thousands and thousands of women active creators of communism. . ."(9) In other words, apart from the professed task of promoting culture, the struggle for the emancipation of women has another important object - the increase of the labour force, very necessary for assuring the success, for example, of the drive for cotton. This is what makes the press accuse husbands whose wives do not go out to work of maintaining "feudal-bay survivals concerning women". Thus, **KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA** of 21.7.56 deplored the fact that in the Voroshilov kolkhoz, Kolkhozabad rayon, only 712 women and girls went to work out of the 2,114 who were fit; the same paper of 6.4.58 denounced the Rudaki and Zeravshan kolkhozes in the same rayon, because the majority of the women wore parandzhas and many men working in the administration of the rayon kolkhozes forbade their wives to work or go out.

In the past, young men, much less women, were not free to choose their wives and husbands, and marriages were arranged by the parents. Now this practice is decreasing, though it is still fairly frequent. Many parents have come to believe that their children should be free to find their partners, but this liberalism is limited mainly to sons; daughters, on the whole, are not given full freedom in this respect; but at least they can usually accept or reject the matches arranged for them. Elopements occur when a girl's parents forbid her to marry the man of her choice. Forced marriages, though still numerous, are becoming the exception rather than the rule, though marriages of adolescent girls are still common, so that not many girls finish the middle school, let alone seek further education. It is believed that, as a result of the "feudal" past, girls tend to be mentally

less developed than boys, and even if they finish school, they do little to develop their minds further, especially in country districts. But it is quite common for young men to want their wives to be not only hard-working and presentable, but educated.

But the old prejudices die hard. In the last quarter of 1958 the case of one Bil'bil' Yalkabova was widely discussed by TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA. She wished to study at the Mary Pedagogical Institute and to marry a Komsomol member, Atayev. She did not obey her parents who wished her to give up her educational ambitions and to marry a man they had found for her but whom she had never seen. He was a member of the Ishan clan, the same to which her family belonged and, according to an old belief, marriages should take place only within the same clan in order that their children might be "pure". The day after she had passed her entrance examination to the Institute, she was murdered together with Atayev by men whom her father had hired for 5,000 rubles in order to satisfy an old custom according to which a disobedient daughter must not live. It is typical that in the case of "feudal-bay survivals concerning women" local authorities, usually employing Central Asians, treat the offenders with undue leniency, if they do not ignore the matter altogether or refuse outright to deal with it.

Whatever the actual practice, there is an officially recommended, fool-proof prescription for contracting a happy marriage. PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 1.1.58 gives a practical illustration of it: a wedding is to take place at Tuya-Buguz kishlak; the bride is one Tursun-oy, "a beauty, who this year has picked nine tons of cotton. Everybody would be eager to marry one like her. But this luck has befallen but one man. . ." He is called Temir Dalabayev, "a bonny young man, an excellent collector [of cotton?] who enjoys respect in the kishlak". It is, incidentally, not unimportant that his father "has the Lenin Medal which he has received for cotton" and that the wedding is held in winter when it does not divert the people from their work in the kolkhoz fields.

Among the young people the new type of wedding festivities is said to be becoming increasingly popular - the kzyl toy (red wedding) as distinguished from the old toy. Not only is it devoid of the religious element, but a major feature distinguishing it from the toy is that now men and women guests sit all together and at the same table as the young couple, while before men and women were entertained in separate rooms or even on different days, and the young couple sat in a corner behind a curtain so that the "evil eye" could not cast spells on them - such at least was the practice in the Fergana valley. Though the kalym is not frequent, there are cases where expensive gifts are regarded as obligatory, which in fact is kalym in disguise. But the exchange of gifts between the bride and bridegroom and their families is a general practice. The old custom of arranging marriages for infants or even children still unborn has been abandoned. Mixed marriages - with Russians, Tatars or gypsies - are looked upon with favour by the authorities

and regarded as a symptom of progress. In cases of intermarriage with Russians the husband is a Central Asian; cases of Muslim women marrying Russians are almost unknown. Such families usually adopt the Russian way of life and, in towns, they often do not differ from purely Russian families. Before the revolution such Russian wives, as a rule, became Muslim but now the problem does not arise.

The break-up of the old patriarchal family is believed to be another symptom of progress. Once it was common for married brothers to live together or for married sons to live with their parents. The oldest man in the family, usually the father, was its dictator with sole control of its property and finances. In such families the position of daughters-in-law was particularly bad; they had no rights and were badly treated by their mothers-in-law who inflicted all the housework on them. Now the practice of living in large families is still common and in kolkhozes they often constitute the majority; but their character has become profoundly modified. Their members earn their own money and the father is no longer the undisputed master. There is a large measure of equality among the members including the women.

In the small monogamous family the woman plays an even more prominent part. Often she goes out to work and is thus economically independent of her husband and shares his responsibility for the well-being of the family. In the majority of cases she is in charge of the family budget, a thing unheard of before, but major purchases are discussed with her husband. As she earns her own money, she can, when necessary, maintain her parents, and her husband in spite of old traditions often comes to live with her family. When the wife's or husband's parents live with them, they are respected but are no longer dictators. Another novelty is that there occur families with women as their recognized heads; to this category belong widows, now no longer forced to remarry, and wives with more responsible jobs, for example in kolkhozes, than their husbands. It is not unusual for the husband to help with the housework, but this meets with much disapproval from older people who deplore the fact that men have become women's "servants". The relationship between husband and wife has become less formal and whereas in the past a wife might not call her husband by his personal name and would be addressed by him as "oy, katyn!" (hey, old woman!), now the use of the first name by both is becoming popular. The position of children has also changed. Even the children of the most backward part of the population, the chabans (shepherds), receive modern education, often in boarding schools if their parents' occupation takes them to the most remote parts of the country. Childlessness is regarded as a great affliction and often is a reason for divorce. Couples who have no or few children often bring up the children of their more fortunate relatives or adopt orphans, even of Russian nationality. (10) Small children are fussed over and spoilt but when they reach the age of seven or eight proper discipline is introduced and they are entrusted with some household tasks, like minding the cattle. They treat the father

with profound respect, but their relationship with the mother is much more informal and intimate. A new custom, limited mainly to the urban population, is that of celebrating children's birthdays; it is regarded as a sign of progress, since before 1917 the people did not know the day or even the year of their birth and age was counted according to the twelve-year cycle, the muchal, each year of which was called by the name of some animal. Thus even family customs - the most conservative of all - are undergoing a profound change.

The same is happening to dress. Once the main difference was between the agricultural and nomad areas, but now the growing popularity of modern dress as well as the suppression of nomadism are making this difference increasingly slight. The basic features of men's dress are the khalat (sort of overcoat) usually quilted, very wide cotton trousers and the tyubeteyka (embroidered skull cap). The colours and patterns of the tyubeteyka embroidery differ between various districts. The cut of the khalat is basically the same everywhere and the difference is one of colour. This is most apparent in Uzbekistan: in Bukhara and Samarkand it is made of bright cloth of many colours. In Tashkent it is green, black or green in Fergana - sometimes with wide stripes, and bright red with narrow stripes in Khorezm. In Turkmenistan the khalat is also red but of a cherry shade. The only survivals of the nomad past of the Turkmens are a large and heavy sheepskin cap and a sheepskin topcoat worn in winter. In Kazakhstan the nomad type of dress has been modified under the influence of the settled population so that both the khalat as well as a fur coat and a fur or felt cap are worn; the Kirgiz men's dress is similar and the main difference consists in the use of felt khalats and a more frequent use of white felt caps. Women's clothes consist basically of a long, wide, brightly coloured cotton and silk dress with wide and long cotton trousers underneath. The tyubeteyka is now worn by both men and women. The costume is completed by the kamzol (sort of waistcoat without sleeves) and a coat similar in cut to the man's khalat or fitted in the waist. Some of the most important local variations are: in Turkmenistan the prevalence of the colour red both in men's and women's dress, a very lavish use of jewellery by women whose head-dress also considerably differs from tribe to tribe; in Kazakhstan the typical head-dress of the married woman is the kimeshek - a white garment covering the head, neck and shoulders; in Kirgizia women wear on their heads the elechek - a high turban made sometimes of as much as 15 metres of white material. Modern dress is worn in towns more than in the country and by young people more than by the old, but combinations of native and European dress are common - thus the khalat may be worn over a jacket, or a sports coat over the native woman's dress. Articles of dress, branded as "survivals of the past" - the parandzha, yashmak and man's turban - are being gradually abandoned.

The difference in housing between the nomad and agricultural lands, once so clear, is rapidly waning. The most usual type of Central Asian house is the rectangular, flat-roofed structure of clay or unbaked brick which is found all over the settled regions. It varies in size from a small one-room hut to a spacious two-storey building. A usual feature of the Central Asian house is the

ayvan - a verandah with the roof supported by wooden columns or pillars which may be finely carved, as in Khiva. Once the larger dwellings were divided into the men's and women's quarters, but now the changed position of women is making the practice obsolete. In the past very little furniture was used but in many houses there were clay benches raised above floor level which served as beds, while deep niches in the wall replaced wardrobes. In the nomad lands the yurt, a circular tent with a domed top, made of felt on a folding wooden framework was common, but the use of clay huts was usual in winter. The yurt is popular even now and the erstwhile nomads often erect it beside their houses to serve as a summer dwelling. In Kara-Kalpakia yurts are sometimes found inside large houses which have an opening in the roof through which the top of the yurt protrudes. The coming of the kolkhozes started a revolution in domestic architecture. In towns and villages Russian houses have appeared, each with a number of rooms, glazed windows, improved cooking facilities and often even electricity. But even there interior decoration is often that of the past - thus in Kazakhstan one may see that the only furniture is the same as once was found in the nomad yurt - a chest by the back wall with folded eiderdowns and cushions on it and a low table for meals. But furniture is becoming increasingly popular, particularly in the towns. It is even not unusual to find in sparsely furnished country cottages wireless sets and sewing machines. Thus the suppression of nomadism and the institution of kolkhozes has introduced more uniformity into housing in Central Asia. The standard Soviet version of modern life is slowly replacing the old individualism of the country.

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### Notes

- (1) Kshibekov (see Sources above), p.5.
- (2) Ibid.
- (3) Ibid., p.34.
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) Ibid., p.73.
- (6) Ibid., p.23.
- (7) Baybulatov (see Sources above), p.66.
- (8) Inoyatov (see Sources above), p.16.
- (9) KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 5.12.58.
- (10) Abramzon (see Sources above), p.141.

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### Archaeology in Turkmenistan

Turkmen archaeologists, members of the South Turkmen Archaeological Expedition (YUTAKE) have discovered in an ancient cemetery in the Mary oblast a mausoleum known amongst the people as the mazar of Abdullah Ansari. Decipherment of the Kufic inscriptions on its walls has revealed that the mausoleum was the tomb of Abdullah, son of Bureyda as-Aslami, an Arab statesman who lived in the seventh century. The inscriptions also contain historical information, hitherto unknown.

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## S T A B I L I Z A T I O N   O F   T H E   N O M A D S

The Period of Transition - First Soviet Attempts at Stabilization -  
Collectivization - Consequences of Collectivization

The Period of Transition

The most important nomad areas in old Transcaspia and Turkestan were the present republics of Kazakhstan, Kirgizia and Turkmenistan, but as the nineteenth century advanced, the old nomadic way of life began to be modified by contemporary economic developments, and a slow transition to settled life began. This development was, probably because of its relative nearness to Russia, particularly apparent in Kazakhstan. Its chief features were the growing importance of agriculture, change in the character of livestock and the weakening of the patriarchal system, which used to be particularly strong in the old nomad societies. Patriarchal social relationships were still strong in the eighteenth century and before their break-up a nomad community (obshchina), which roamed as one unit and used common pastures, might embrace hundreds of households of the same clan. But with the growth of population and livestock the area of grazing lands decreased and the communities split into smaller groups. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century an average community had 35-50 households, though in some parts of Kazakhstan, such as the region occupied by the Bukeyev Horde, a nomad unit had only 3-5 or 10 households. The split of the old patriarchal system weakened the clan bond.

Another feature of the age of transition was the gradual settlement of the nomads, which was stimulated by the expanding demands of Russian trade and industry and the influx of peasant colonists into Kazakhstan. As pasture land was becoming scarce, some nomads turned to agriculture which often involved a settled way of life and limited the number of livestock; at the same time others led a semi-nomadic life and were primarily concerned with cattle-breeding.

There were other forms of transition between nomadic and settled life. By the beginning of the twentieth century purely nomadic life was preserved only in the most remote steppe regions of Kazakhstan, but in the northern areas nomadism not combined with agriculture was very rare. Outside the districts of permanent settlement the shortage of grazing lands caused stronger clans to appropriate better areas of winter pasture and the lesser ones found it increasingly difficult to feed their cattle, which in turn made them turn to agriculture. In some nomad regions the shortage of pastures was so acute that they were not even divided and continued to be used in common. The extent to which the nomads settled varied from one area to another. In 1909-10 in some uyezds 70 per cent of all farms were held by settled nomads, while in 1911, in

the Vernyy uyezd, 79.3 per cent of Kazakh households were engaged in agriculture. But, on the whole, just at the end of the Revolution 75.5 per cent of the native population of Kazakhstan were still nomadic.

The third feature of the period of transition was the change in the type of animals bred. While the nomads had mainly sheep and horses, with camels, asses and horned cattle in the south, the change to settled life increased the importance of cattle everywhere with the result that in agricultural areas they came to constitute 40-50 per cent of all domestic animals. In this connection it is important to remember when considering fluctuations in the number of animals, that as they wintered outdoors and fodder was limited, severe winters caused grave losses; in 1912-13 in Semirech'ye, for example, over 100,000 cattle and about a million sheep and goats died.(1)

In Kirgizia agriculture and cattle-breeding were inseparable in the economy of the nomadic aul, and purely agricultural areas were few. Roaming with flocks and herds had a seasonal character; in spring the animals grazed in the neighbourhood of fields cultivated by their owners, in summer on highland meadows, and in autumn often returned to the spring grazing lands where the crops were harvested; after this they moved to winter pastures. As the nineteenth century advanced, the area of arable land increased so that in the 1880s the export of grain from Kirgizia was considerable.(2)

The situation in Turkmenistan was in many ways similar. In the nineteenth century agriculture expanded and its combination with cattle-breeding was usual in the agricultural oases. By the beginning of the twentieth century some areas were concerned chiefly with the cultivation of land - the districts of Mary, Tedzhen and Ashkhabad - though cattle-breeding was still widespread there. Particularly good grazing lands lay between the Amu-Dar'ya and Tedzhen; further to the west the river valleys of the Krasnovodsk uyezd and the region of the Balkhan mountains provided good summer pastures, while before the coming of winter the nomads crossed the Atrek into Persia. This last practice made nomadism in Turkmenistan particularly obnoxious to the Soviet authorities.

### First Soviet Attempts at Stabilization

The stabilization of the nomads by the Soviets in a sense hastened and completed a process which had started long ago. An important political reason for the suppression of nomadism was the need to destroy the already weakened patriarchal system, which even in its decline was unacceptable to the authorities as one stressing clan loyalties while in fact all loyalty should be paid to the state. To this end the destruction of the class of bays and, in Kirgizia, manaps (the two wealthiest groups in the clans) was undertaken; this in turn served as a prelude to the stabilization of the nomads. ". . . For the purpose of suppressing clan survivals it was essential to change economic conditions - to transfer the cattle-breeders from nomadic to settled life. Another reason for



the persistence of clan survivals was the dependence of poor people on the bay. The liberation of the toiling masses from the bays' influence and the unmasking of the predatory character of the latter made it possible to overcome clan survivals."(3)

This "liberation" started in Kazakhstan in 1928 and it was part of collectivization. "Some 700 bays had their goods confiscated and were deported. One hundred and fifty thousand head of cattle were taken from them, but this figure includes other animals reckoned against the unit of one head of cattle. Apart from cattle, farm implements, buildings, means of transport etc. were confiscated. Descendants of sultans and khans as well as the bays were moved to distant regions and officially allotted land. The confiscated cattle and other property were given to 25,000 poor peasants and agricultural labourers. Men of this class formed about 300 cattle-breeding kolkhozes. Also five cattle-breeding sovkhazes were founded."(4)

In Kirgizia it was decided in 1927 to take the same course of action. The more important bays and manaps were found dangerous for "they used their material wealth and clan survivals to incite national and clan antagonisms, they engaged in anti-Soviet activities and aspired to disorganize the construction of socialism".(5)

At the same time closer attention was paid to the mass of the nomads. In 1927 the government of Kirgizia took steps to intensify "political education" work among them and it was soon noticed how difficult the task was. In summer the nomads moved with their animals to highland pastures called dzhaylu, one of the most important among which was the Susamyr valley. It was visited by nomads, some of whom even came from Kazakhstan, so that every summer some 6,000 households with 700-750,000 animals stayed there. This meant that for a large part of every year the people were away from their administrative and "communal political" centres. Local authorities in whose districts the dzhaylus lay were unable to manage the masses of nomads flocking there in summer. "The result was that the cattle-breeding nomads derived very little profit from what Soviet and Party organizations could offer them. Such a state of affairs in the dzhaylus, particularly the one on the Susamyr, enabled the bays and manaps to exploit clan survivals in order to prey upon the labourers and poor men. . ."(6) In other words, the authorities found it too difficult to control the nomads as closely as the requirements of the Soviet regime demanded. A remedy was sought by setting up "dzhaylu soviets" with powers corresponding to those of local authorities elsewhere; but the measure proved unsuccessful owing allegedly to the perversity of the hostile bays and manaps. In those circumstances the most practical solution was to extend the drive for collectivization to the nomads.

In 1928 in Kazakhstan 567,000 households were nomadic, but in spite of the disadvantages of this way of life they prospered and between 1913 and 1929 the number of animals grew by 35.9 per cent.(7) In Kirgizia the situation was

similar for, compared with the pre-war years, by 1929 there was an increase of 36.1 per cent.(8) Thus from the point of view of the economic well-being of the nomads their stabilization was no pressing necessity.

### Collectivization

In Kazakhstan collectivization was a complicated process. Its agricultural regions, which contained but a small minority of the population, were regarded as best prepared for kolkhoz life; the ones where agriculture and cattle-breeding were combined were believed to be more difficult and the nomad areas, situated mainly in central Kazakhstan, presented the gravest problem. On 5th January 1930 the Central Committee of the Party issued a decree on collectivization, according to which kolkhozes were to be founded in the agricultural districts by the spring of 1932, but in the nomad and semi-nomad areas the completion of the task was postponed until the end of the first Five-Year Plan, i.e. 1933. In the latter districts the semi-nomadic population was herded into the kolkhozes more easily than the nomads: there were 939 kolkhozes on 1st October 1928 and by January 1930 the figure increased to 2,096.(9) The decree of 1930 directed that in cattle-breeding areas the foundation of groups working together on their common land should be encouraged as a form of transition to kolkhoz life. The nomads thus forced to settle were too bewildered to understand what was expected of them, did not know how to raise crops and build houses, but with the help of Russian kolkhozniks proceeded to adapt themselves to the new way of life. Collectivization opened up new parts of the country to agriculture and the area of arable land extended into central Kazakhstan, the Kara-Kums and the shores of the Caspian and Aral Seas and of Lake Balkhash. The drive for collectivization was so successful that in 1933 alone 242,000 nomad households were settled on the land (10), though 182,000 of them had some land already. The state gave them financial help and in the year 1933 alone 43m. rubles were spent, while nomad and semi-nomad households were exempted for two years from supplying quotas of grain and cattle to the state as well as from taxes and other financial liabilities.

Similar developments took place in Kirgizia "where the promotion of collectivization and the setting up of kolkhozes was linked with the task of destroying the remnants of the feudal clan system".(11) In January 1930 the Central Committee of the Party, realizing that the "degree of readiness" for collectivization varied from one district to another, fixed various dates by which collectivization in them was to be completed; the final date was 1933. In the spring of 1930 the Kirgiz flocked to the kolkhozes en masse and their enthusiasm for collectivization is stated to have been so great that "they drove away the kulaks and bays from their lands, confiscated their cattle and chattels and begged the Soviet authorities to arrest and deport them from the republic".(12) But according to the source from which the above quotation comes, they were at the same time deplorably susceptible to the bays' intrigues, whose object was the wholesale destruction of cattle. In February 1931 the conduct of collectivization

was systematized by the decision of the Plenum of the Communist Party of Kirgizia that in the next four years 85,000 nomad and semi-nomad households should be settled on the land. The first to do so were the nomads of the border rayons - At-Bashi, Alay, Kochkorka etc., probably in order to stop them roaming outside the borders of the Soviet Union. In 1931 alone 1,730,000 rubles were spent on the task. The Party and government organizations made themselves responsible for building villages in the rayons of settlement; in the remote mountain rayon of Alay 2,419 houses were built in one year and 2,341 in the At-Bashi rayon. By the beginning of 1934, 68.9 per cent of small households were covered by collectivization.(13) It is noteworthy that more than eight times as much money was spent per nomad settlement in Kazakhstan in 1933 as in Kirgizia in 1931.

In Turkmenistan stabilization of the nomads seems to have been slower. By 1930 only four per cent of the nomads had been submitted to collectivization and it was not until the end of 1931 that the movement assumed a mass character and cost the state 3,697,000 rubles.(14)

In its initial stages, collectivization as a form of struggle against clan survivals proved singularly unsuccessful. Many kolkhozes constituted themselves on the clan basis, for example in the Cholpon-Ata volost' in Kirgizia some reactionary elements popularized the slogan "each clan in its own kolkhoz" with the result that in one village eight kolkhozes, each with 10-12 households, were set up. There were also large kolkhozes, each embracing a number of clans, but even there each clan kept to itself and worked together, its members constituting a "brigade". For example, the Tegizchildik kolkhoz united 900 households belonging to 11 clans, each "governing" itself to the prejudice of the kolkhoz management; the Don-Tala kolkhoz, Balykchi rayon, had 1,000 households which split into seven clan kolkhozes. In some large kolkhozes the clans lived some 30-40 kilometres from one another and instead of a common management each was subject to its own chief. Such chiefs were, allegedly, under the influence of the bays and other sinister elements exploiting the clan system for their own purpose in their struggle against the Soviet system.(15) In Kazakhstan the situation was similar: "During collectivization in a number of outlying auls clan kolkhozes were set up and their heads were the clan aksakal-bays. Under the form of kolkhozes they tried to preserve the old clan relationship between the lord and the subject."(16) This caused another purge of the evil characters while in Turkmenistan even bays' poor relatives were excluded from kolkhozes as a precaution; they were in some cases not paid for their work, even if they renounced their relationship with the bays and were eager to do their best for the kolkhozes.(17)

### Consequences of Collectivization

It is admitted that in the course of collectivization the authorities, however well-meaning, committed serious mistakes and "deviations from the Party line", but there is no clear distinction between the sins of the officials and those of the perverse elements headed by the bays. It seems that the former admirably - though not deliberately - facilitated the task of the latter, so that they shared the responsibility for a major disaster during the period of stabilization - the catastrophic decline in the numbers of livestock. The authorities were guilty of unduly hastening collectivization, which was contrary to the Party's instructions. They forced the people to join kolkhozes and the result was that by 20th March 1930 in Kirgizia 37.2 per cent of households were collectivized instead of the planned 28.9 per cent while in some rayons as many as 80 per cent were forced into kolkhozes; some rayons, like those of Chu and Karabalty, carried out the task in only three months.(18) This enabled the "kulak agitation" to incite the people to anti-Soviet rebellions (in the Uzgen rayon the people cooperated with a Basmachi band and planned to kill all communists). In Kazakhstan similar "deviations" were made by the authorities and the nomads were their main victims. In February 1930 in the space of a few days the number of collectivized households grew from 26 to 45.1 per cent, while in a number of the most backward rayons between 80-100 per cent were driven into kolkhozes.(19) A good example of this sort of abuse was the case of the Talass rayon, Syr-Dar'ya okrug (district); there in March 1930 the authorities decided to complete the collectivization quickly and proceeded to drive together nomads from a number of auls to a place where a kolkhoz was to be established. The result of such forcible transfer was that a large number of camels died and there was a severe loss of lambs. When the nomads gathered, they were made to build settlements from their yurts and 300-400 households were to occupy each settlement. Some yurts were converted into byres for the cattle and their owners forced to share other people's yurts. Such "deviations" caused great discontent among the nomads, which was expressed by the mass destruction of cattle. Within a few months the number of animals in Kazakhstan decreased by 20 per cent and in some rayons by 50-60 per cent, while in the most backward of them the bays even managed to provoke anti-Soviet riots. A.B. Tursunbayev says, "until now our historical literature did not explain the reason of the decrease in the numbers of cattle. . ." and he follows it by an explanation, though of little originality, ascribing the reason to the above-mentioned deviations.(20) In Kirgizia the situation was the same. The kulaks, bays, and manaps as well as the bourgeois nationalists, who had treacherously penetrated into the kolkhozes, turned to sabotage; they spread disease among the animals (sic), did not feed them, and broke the backs of horses. The result was that by 1931 the number of cattle had decreased by 35.9 per cent, horses - 20.9 per cent, sheep and goats - 47 per cent, while in the Ketmen'-Tyube rayon alone between January-October 1931, 5,163 horses, 2,521 cows, 65,603 sheep and goats and 555 camels were destroyed.(21) Another reason for this was the fact that originally many kolkhozes did not have byres and stables so that the animals wintered outdoors and died of cold and

starvation. In Turkmenistan also the mass destruction of cattle took place in 1929-30, but no figures are available.

This situation made the Party authorities intervene. First of all the source of evil was discovered and as a prelude to reform the local Party officials resorted to "criticism and self-criticism". They then took more practical steps to stop the rapid decline of livestock. The Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the Party appointed a special commission and entrusted it with the task of restoring Kazakhstan's agriculture and cattle-breeding. In cattle-breeding areas the population received allotments of arable land and farming implements and those who needed cattle could buy on easy terms from the sovkhoses and kolkhozes - in 1933-4 some 900,000 head of cattle were thus sold. (22) An additional measure was the foundation, in 1933, of the political departments of the MTS which in 1933-4 purged the kolkhozes of bays and other "enemies of the people". Owing to these combined efforts in 1933 the fall in the number of livestock stopped and in 1934 a slow recovery started. In Kirgizia the situation improved as early as 1932; on 26th March of that year the Central Committee of the Party directed that forcibly communalized livestock must be returned to its owners and in fact the kolkhozniks received back their animals and some cattle-breeding kolkhozes specializing in manufacturing foodstuffs (kolkhozno-tovarnyye fermy) were even dissolved. The republican authorities of Kirgizia exempted the settled nomads and semi-nomads (60,000 farms) for a period of two years from supplying their quotas of grain and from other obligations towards the state. The situation was further improved by the political departments of the MTS whose efforts disclosed and drove away from kolkhozes hundreds of bays and kulaks.

No precise information is available on the effect produced by stabilization and collectivization on the population of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan. It is, however, on record that the total number of Kazakhs fell by nearly one million between the censuses of 1926 and 1939.

To push the people into kolkhozes was easier than to destroy their "clan survivals". As recently as 1949 it was found that in Kazakhstan there were kolkhozes where even young people and children were aware of their clan membership. It was also deplored that some heads of establishments of productive work, kolkhozes and rayons appointed their staff according to the candidates' clan background and not their professional and political merits. Thus in 1947 in the Burlyu-Tobe rayon, Taldy-Kurgan oblast, heads of kolkhozes were appointed from clans to which the majority of the kolkhozniks belonged. Four kolkhozes inhabited by people of the clan of Tulengut were transferred to the Kzyl-Balyk selsovet (village soviet) while three kolkhozes situated within a convenient distance of it were put under the remote Balkhash selsovet because their members belonged to the clan of Zhalair. (23) Such cases had parallels

in other oblasts. According to Kshibekov, there are other clan survivals which still persist, but he does not specify them; instead he says vaguely: "In the Soviet period a great deal has been done to suppress undesirable phenomena arising from the nomadic way of life, but as yet they have not been completely overcome. This is why further struggle against them is one of the unavoidable tasks in developing the material and intellectual culture of the Kazakh people." (24)

### Notes

- (1 ) See also CAR, Vol.V, No.1, "The Social Structure and Customs of the Kazakhs" and Vol.IV, No.3, "Seasonal Nomadism".
- (2 ) See also CAR, Vol.V, No.4, "The Social, Economic and Political Effects of Russian Influence in Kirgizia (1855-1917)".
- (3 ) Kshibekov, D. O FEODALNO-BAYSKIKH PEREZHITKAKH I IKH PREDOLENIИ. Alma-Ata, 1957, pp.13-14.
- (4 ) ISTORIYA KAZAKHSKOY SSR. Ed. M. Abdykalykov and A. Pankratova. Kazogiz, 1943, p.516.
- (5 ) ISTORIYA KIRGIZII. AN/Kirg. SSR, Institut Istorii, Frunze, 1956, Vol.II, p.154.
- (6 ) Ibid., pp.154-5.
- (7 ) Kshibekov, op.cit., p.62; BOL'SHAYA SOVETSKAYA ENTSIKLOPEDIYA, 2nd Edition. Vol.19, 1953, p.335.
- (8 ) ISTORIYA KIRGIZII, p.173.
- (9 ) MATERIALY OB"YEDINENNOY NAUCHNOY SESSII, POSVYASHCHENNOY ISTORII SREDNEY AZII I KAZAKHSTANA EPOKHI SOCIALIZMA, Alma-Ata, 1958, p.322.
- (10) BOL'SHAYA SOV. ENTSIK. Vol.19, p.336.
- (11) ISTORIYA KIRGIZII, p.179.
- (12) Ibid., p.180.
- (13) Ibid., pp.204-5.
- (14) ISTORIYA TURKMENSKOY SSR. AN/Turk. SSR, Institut Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii. Ashkhabad, 1957, Vol.II, pp.344, 355.

- (15) ISTORIYA KIRGIZII, pp.194-5.
- (16) Kshibekov, p.15.
- (17) N. Tikhonov, KOCHEVNIKI. Moscow, 1931, pp.82-83.
- (18) ISTORIYA KIRGIZII, p.182.
- (19) ISTORIYA KAZAKH., p.534.
- (20) MATERIALY, pp.324-5.
- (21) ISTORIYA KIRGIZII, p.195.
- (22) ISTORIYA KAZAKH., pp.541-2.
- (23) Kshibekov, pp.17-18.
- (24) Ibid,, p.62.

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#### Ancient manuscripts discovered in Turkmenistan

An expedition of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences recently discovered in an old medrese in the Mary oblast of Turkmenistan over two thousand oriental manuscripts. The most noteworthy of them was a thousand-year-old copy of the SHAH-NAMEH of Abul Qasim Ferdausi, written in the naskh script on Bukhara silk paper. The manuscript consists of 1,400 pages containing more than 136,000 lines. The manuscripts belonged to a teacher at one of the Mary medrese who died sixty-four years ago.

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#### Stone Age discoveries in Uzbekistan

A camp site of primitive man is being excavated in Samarkand - the first case of the discovery of such a site in Uzbekistan on the territory of a modern city. Material found on the site date it to the late Stone Age. The discovery is expected to make a great contribution to the study of the living conditions of late Stone Age man in Central Asia.

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## FORAGING IN KHORASAN

When General Skobelev was planning his final attack on the Akhal Teke Turkmen, he wished to relieve the pressure on his long line of communications with Krasnovodsk by buying supplies and means for their transport in the northern provinces of Persia, which lay on his right flank, and establish bases there as near as possible to Geok-Tepe (see note (1) at end). He wrote on 12th May 1880, to Zinov'yev, the Russian Minister to Persia, to ask for his help in this matter. (General Lazarev had had much the same idea in 1879, but for one reason and another had abandoned his plan.) Skobelev decided that a commercial agent would not always be trustworthy, and put in charge of the mission, with letters to the ilkhan of Bojnord and Quchan, a man who had been in the country before and knew many of the powerful people, Colonel N.I. Grodekov, from the seventeenth chapter of whose book, VOYNA V TURKMENII: POKHOD SKOBELEVA V 1880-1881 GG. (St. Petersburg, 1883), this account is taken. He was given instructions how much flour, rice and barley was required, and was told to spare neither money nor presents: it was better to pay too much in Persia than to let the expedition drag on and spend huge sums in that way.

Grodekov's party reached Astrabad (Gorgan) on 1st September, and found out only by chance, four days later, that Zinov'yev had asked that they should appear in civilian clothes: his telegram to Skobelev had been garbled, and they had come in uniform. At this time Mirza Hosayn Khan, the Foreign Secretary, was dismissed, and since this entailed, as was usual, the invalidation of all the instructions he had given and even of the firmans he had countersigned, Grodekov's mission was held up. Zinov'yev approached the Shah directly, and appeared about to succeed when the news arrived about the uniforms, by which the Shah was greatly disturbed. Skobelev, too, was much distressed, and telegraphed to Grodekov that he must be ready to return at the first request from Zinov'yev. (He also wrote to Zinov'yev his views on the Anglo-Russian Central Asian question.) The British Minister called on Zinov'yev and reminded him that in 1878 the Persian Government had told both Great Britain and Russia of the undesirability of their sending agents into Khorasan: and that Great Britain had at once withdrawn Captain Napier from Mashhad. He thought that the Cabinet might now send him there again. Zinov'yev said that he still did not know what Captain Napier's orders had been in 1878, although he might have his suspicions. With Colonel Grodekov it was an entirely different affair: there was nothing mysterious about his mission; and he explained its purpose. The British Minister confined himself to saying that he could not answer for what the opinion of the British Government might be.

The Shah had demanded an explanation from Zinov'yev, but he accepted his account of the garbled telegram, and merely requested that Grodekov should continue his journey in the character of a commercial agent.



Grodekov left for Shahrud on 6th September, with three firmans, addressed to the ilkhan of Bojnord and Quchan and the Governor of Darreh Gaz. His instructions from his Minister were to avoid everything that might remind the Persians of the fact that he was an officer in the Russian army. He must call on Prince Rokn ud-dowleh at Mashhad, who was the governor of the whole of Khorasan; he must avoid too close relations with the ilkhan, for fear the Persian Government should suspect that the Russians had any "special views on them"; he should not let it be thought that he was gathering any intelligence not directly connected with the object of his mission; it would be indispensable to give presents to the ilkhan and other persons who might be useful, but he should not show himself too generous at first. He must avail himself of the help of such people, but not let them get the whole management of things into their hands, for they might easily turn this to their own mercenary ends. It would be better to use no intermediaries, and to let the cooperation of the ilkhan be primarily moral. Upon arrival at a place he should not announce the whole amount that he was prepared to buy, for this would lead to a quick and excessive rise in prices: the Persians were extremely grasping in dealings with foreigners. The whole thing was an entirely new departure, and they were certain to meet with difficulties, but he relied on Grodekov's energy and close acquaintance with the Muslim East. Zinov'yev also warned him against possible interference from Napier.

The Russian commercial agent at Mashhad, Nasirbekov, was also given suitable instructions.

Grodekov arrived on 22nd September at Bojnord, where he was received by the ilkhan, Yar Mohammad Khan, a man of forty-five who had seen much fighting against the Teke Turkmen. Since 1873 their raiding had diminished, and he had seldom had to mount his horse; so he had set himself to the steady accumulation of money. For instance, in a law case he would most likely fine both parties, to his own profit. His people forgave him his cupidity, however, in recognition of his past exploits. He was given to strong waters, and had even built a small distillery for his own use.

After talking to him Grodekov realized that he would not be able to keep to Zinov'yev's instruction not to let the ilkhan get the furnishing of provisions into their hands, because Yar Mohammad Khan was himself a merchant and wanted to get a high price for his wheat, and because nobody else would dare to sell if he did not. After a distribution of presents to himself and his followers he took a close and sincere interest in Grodekov's plans, and Grodekov moved on to Shirvan, which Amir Hosayn Khan Shoja' ud-dowleh, the ilkhan of Quchan, was using at the moment as a base from which to prepare an aleman, a raid, on the Teke Turkmen.

This man, knowing that Yar Mohammad Khan had returned Grodekov's call, made the first call himself, drank several glasses of different liquors in a short time and then summoned singers and musicians: there was "a complete orgy".

On the 29th Grodekov went with the Amir, escorted by 100 horsemen, to the source of the Atrek, drinking all the way. There some splendid tents were pitched, and there was shooting at a tethered ram and hawking at bagged pigeons. After dinner, although the Amir was drunk, Grodekov managed to talk some business with him. He had realized that when the Russians took Geok-Tepe he would lose half his vilayet, and had been to Tehran to offer to take it himself. The offer had been refused; he had reconciled himself to this, although he would be losing his income from the ransoms of the prisoners taken in his alemans, and now promised the Russians every kind of help: corn, transport, cattle, horsemen - he would even come himself to help.

Grodekov says that Shoja' ud-dowleh was an unusually intelligent and capable man, of an entirely European cast of mind; he had seen the world and, when he was sober, was an extraordinarily pleasant companion. He was a despot, wholly given over to debauchery and avarice, who would cut off his people's noses and ears, and they could not stand him. "Here's bread, salt, a bite to eat and a pleasant companion for you," he said to a son of his who had taken part in a conspiracy against him; and he had set before him bread, salt, and the hand and the corpse of one of his fellow-conspirators.

On 30th September Grodekov received a written undertaking of what the Amir would provide (although of course he did not sympathize with Skobelev's campaign, and therefore Grodekov had to accept every condition he chose to make). Grodekov then left for Mashhad on 4th October, engaging on the way one Karl Defur, an enterprising young Dutchman (who had been born in Russia but had left it recently for reasons which he did not care to give), to go to Darreh Gaz and report from there what was going on among the Akhal Tekes and at Merv. By now Grodekov had agents, mostly Russian Tatars or Persians, in twelve of the towns of Khorasan.

At Mashhad he was amicably received by Rokn ud-Dowleh, who accepted valuable presents from him. Permission had not originally been sought from the Persian Government to buy supplies in Mashhad, for fear of sending prices up: now news arrived of the failure of the harvest in the whole of Seistan, and this, coupled with Grodekov's agents' purchases in Quchan, did indeed cause prices to rise; so Nasirbekov determined to buy wheat secretly from the stores of the Imam Reza Mosque. The British agent, Abbas Khan, stirred up the Muslim clergy, particularly powerful in this Shiite centre, who made representations to Rokn ud-dowleh and, on 5th October, before Grodekov's arrival, a caravan of 57 camels, loaded with wheat bought by Nasirbekov, which was about to leave the town, was stopped by his orders. Grodekov arrived, and a rumour went about that he was "the head merchant of the Russian state" and was going to buy up all the corn. Matters seemed to be at a standstill, but Grodekov had recourse to a good deal of complicated bribery, and promised Rokn ud-dowleh a landau, which he wanted (he eventually compounded for 2,200 rubles); and by 7th October "gold had softened steel", the caravan was allowed out and Grodekov no longer had any reason for complaint. He then left for Shirvan, telling Nasirbekov to do no more buying in Mashhad for fear of further difficulties.

There was the same sort of trouble at Sabzavar, caused by rumours spread by Armenian traders. The people egged on by the clergy, rushed to the caravanserai, where the caravan was preparing to leave, beat the caravan-bashi to death, spilt some of the flour, and would not let the camels start. Nasirbekov managed to get Rokn ud-dowleh to give orders for the seizure and punishment of the instigators and for the flour to be allowed out of the town.

Another plan of the Armenians, to buy up all the free corn in Khorasan, was defeated by Shoja' ud-dowleh, who at last, on 12th October, set off for his raid on the Akhal Tekes, to the huge relief of Shirvan, where he and his men had been living at free quarters. Doing business with him, while assisting at his orgies and keeping pace with him in drinking, was "more than difficult", Grodekov says. His parting message to Grodekov was that everything he had undertaken to do on Grodekov's behalf should be carried out to the full, and that he would be able to present himself to Skobelev with "a white face"; and he left word with the local inhabitants that none of them was to dare to sell the Russians any corn.

The network of agents all over Khorasan were buying successfully, without raising prices unreasonably, and Grodekov's main stores, at Shirvan and Bojnord, were filling up well; but he decided that these two places were not sufficiently close to Geok-Tepe, and therefore made a reconnaissance to find a nearer place to which he might move at least part of the stores. He pitched on Yangi-kala, not more than eight farsakhs (60-70 versts) from Geok-Tepe, which had a "citadel" and was defensible. Shoja' ud-dowleh undertook the protection of this entrepot, and did in fact strengthen the guard on the frontier. Grodekov put Lieut. Krishtapenko in charge, with a small garrison. The local Kurds complained, however, that this was inviting Teke raids from which they themselves would suffer; and indeed there were Teke spies everywhere. Zinov'yev wrote to say that Yangi-kala was outside the borders of Persia and too close to the Akhal Teke oasis; there were rumours of Teke bands on the move, and so Grodekov decided to postpone the further movement of stores to Yangi-kala. He recalled Krishtapenko and dispersed the garrison he had hired.

Meanwhile Shoja' ud-dowleh had abandoned his aleman. He wrote to Grodekov: "Be assured that I have your affairs in mind: do not be uneasy. As soon as Moharram is finished I shall go myself to the frontier, and if your people shall wish to go there, I will accompany them. In a word, be not uneasy about your affairs. And I thank you for sending the other chandelier. An accursed workman fixed a nail badly in the ceiling; your first chandelier was broken because of that. Such is the negligence of the Muslim people. Only Jesus alone, upon whom was shed all the grace of God, could come from heaven and form such a people upon earth as are the Russians. By as much as I was grieved by the loss of the first chandelier, by so much have I been solaced beneath the light of the new one. It is out of friendship that you take upon you so many labours, but I do not consent to these troubles. Since it was

a friendly present, I must accept it, would I or not, on condition that you forgave me for breaking your first chandelier. You and your people are appointed by the Russian Government, out of friendship and according to the understanding between the two high Governments every desire of yours shall be fulfilled. But you know not well the Turkmen, how unchancy and evil they are. One must be careful. But do you be easy. Not desiring to repeat to you the assurance of my friendship, know that all that ever I do is for the good of our friendship."

By the beginning of November that quantity of flour and barley which Grodekov required had been collected, and Grodekov rejoined the fighting troops, leaving Lieut.Col. Volkov to finish the foraging operation in Khorasan.

A description follows of the sacking-up of the stores, in double sacks (some of the sackcloth had to come from Baku), and of the purchase of meat: what had been bought up to now had been barley, wheat-flour, salt, maslo (ghi, perhaps), rice and peas.

Volkov's orders were to assemble as many baggage-animals as possible, in order to move up some barley to Skobelev at once for the horses, and to clear all Grodekov's stores as soon as Geok-Tepe was taken. Russian cavalry would be sent to the frontier to convoy them, and, if they went rather further, the necessary political porridge would have to be swallowed. The thing was to be done in a friendly fashion, and the local Persian magnates were to be implicated as much as possible. There were difficulties when his drivers refused to move, for fear of the Tekes (see note (2) at end), and when the Persian Government hesitated to allow such obvious help to be given to the Russians, for fear of the English; but these difficulties were surmounted, and the stores began to be moved at once on the fall of Geok-Tepe in January 1881, and all the supplies from Khorasan had been delivered in the oasis by the middle of May.

### Notes

- (1) The fortress and battle to which English writers give the name of Geok-Tepe is usually called by the Russians Dengil-Tepe: Grodekov uses both names. Edmond O'Donovan, in *THE MERV OASIS*, 2 vols. (London, 1882), Vol. II, pp.67-68, says, "Geok-Tepe. . . is a misnomer, the true name of the place being Yangi Sheher, or the New Town. . . In the north-western portion of the town stands an ancient earth-mound called the Dengil-Tepe, a name sometimes also given to the town itself."
- (2) Grodekov tells in chapter one of what Curzon calls "the prodigious prestige enjoyed by the Turkoman brigands". A Persian who enjoyed a great reputation for bravery was attacked in the night by a Teke. The Persian, being the stronger of the two, soon threw his assailant to the ground; but just as he was taking out his knife to cut the latter's throat, the Teke called

out: 'What are you doing? Do you not see that I am a Teke?' The Persian at once lost his presence of mind and dropped the knife, which was seized by the Teke and plunged into his opponent's heart (G.N. Curzon, RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA, London, 1889, p.119).

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#### Kazakhstan's underground seas

An exhaustive study of Kazakhstan's sub-surface water resources, which involved trekking thousands of miles across deserts, has recently been completed and has resulted in the discovery of hitherto unknown underground "seas". The boundaries of artesian reservoirs, their volume, depth, pressure and origin have now been established and plans for a water-supply system for the arid areas are being worked out.

There are nearly seventy of these sub-surface fresh-water seas, some of them under the deserts of Kyzylkum, Muyunkum and Bet-Pak-Dala; they form vast layers of water-logged gravel and gritstone and resemble a sponge which, if "squeezed" would yield enough water to fill almost two Aral Seas. In all they cover half the area of Kazakhstan. There are also sub-surface salt-water reservoirs, whose salt will one day supply raw material to the chemical industry, as well as hot water reservoirs and natural supplies of mineral water.

SU. No.112, 1959

## T H E B A S M A C H I S †

## THE CENTRAL ASIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, 1918-24

The Basmachi Revolt in Fergana - The New Soviet Policy - The Rising Spreads to Bukhara - The Epic of Enver Pasha - The Rising is Crushed - Some General Conclusions.

The October Revolution of 1917 brought a Soviet government to power in Tashkent, the capital of Russian Turkestan, whose authority soon extended to most of the towns of the area. Practically no Muslims were included in this new government which carried out a policy of national discrimination and oppression against the native population. The Muslim intelligentsia, few in number and undecided in policy, gathered at Kokand in the Fergana Valley and established what became known as the Kokand Autonomous Government which sought autonomy within the Russian state with full national representation and self-rule for Turkestan. The authority of this government, however, extended little further than Kokand itself. Between Russian Turkestan and the Afghan frontier the emirate of Bukhara still existed as a semi-independent state ruled by the fanatical and reactionary Emir Said Alim who looked on the Kokand leaders as dangerous liberals or "innovators" (dzhadid - jadid) and thus offered them no support.

In January 1918 the Tashkent Soviet Government issued an ultimatum to the Kokand Government to surrender, and in February the city was sacked by Soviet troops, many of whom were German and Austrian prisoners of war in the service of Tashkent. Having razed the city to the ground the Soviet troops proceeded to plunder the Fergana Valley, one of the richest areas of Turkestan. The Tashkent Government ordered all cotton, the chief product of the region, to be confiscated. Looting, extortions and expulsions of the native population followed and added to the miseries caused by famine and unemployment. (It has been estimated that 300,000 to 400,000, or one-third of the population of Fergana, were unemployed in 1917-18.) In addition the Tashkent Government had in December 1917 declared the shariat to be invalid and had destroyed religious foundations and law-courts.

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+ The word "basmachi" is generally thought to be a derivation of "basmaq" meaning to attack or oppress. Before the Revolution it was applied to marauding bands of robbers in Central Asia; after the Revolution, to the anti-Soviet partisan movement.

The Basmachi Revolt in Fergana: January 1918 to November 1919

The native reaction was immediate. Independently of each other, and without direction from the members of the Kokand Government, local leaders seized arms against Soviet authority. By April 1918 every village in Fergana had its Basmachi partisan unit. Soviet rule was soon reduced to a tenuous hold on the chief towns and the railway line. The three divisions that were sent to Fergana were of little avail against the rebels who, closely supported by the local population, made continuous surprise attacks on the Soviet troops and then melted into the background. The history of the Basmachi revolt at this period is one not of military campaigns but of local ambushes, arson and murders. In every district the pattern was the same, but the Basmachis had no cohesion and acted independently, sometimes even against each other.(1)

Two leaders soon emerged who gradually brought larger territories under their rule. These were Irgash in the Kokand area and Madamin (or Makhmed Amin-Bek) in the Margelan area. They were men of opposing temperament and political views: Irgash whose prowess became a byword throughout Turkestan was a conservative and a fanatical Muslim. He had ended a ten-year sentence, apparently for brigandage, in 1917 and at the end of that year had been called in by the Kokand Government to organize their meagre troops. By September 1918 he controlled enough territory to have himself proclaimed emir-musulmanin and was enthroned with all the pomp and ritual once used by the khans of Kokand.(2) Madamin was only 23 years old in 1917.(3) He was of a wider and more liberal political outlook and welcomed Tatar and Bashkir intellectuals to his force. Later, in 1919, he was to enter into an alliance with Russian anti-Bolshevik groups. In the past he too had been a convict, though his crime is not known, and in 1917 had become head of the Margelan soviet's police force. Such was the disunity between the leaders at this time that in the summer of 1918 Irgash's forces came to blows with those of Madamin, apparently over a misunderstanding.(1)

Soviet sources usually allege that the Basmachi movement was assisted by the British. PRAVDA of 10th November 1922, for instance, quotes an agreement allegedly made in September 1918 between Irgash and a Russian anti-Bolshevik group in Tashkent in which it was stated that the British would supply arms and money. It seems probable that attempts were made by Russian anti-Bolsheviks to make an agreement with the Basmachis during 1918 but nothing concrete seems to have been achieved.(4) British assistance at this time is almost certainly a myth. Colonel Etherton, the British Consul in Kashgar, recalls that he was in touch with the Fergana Basmachis but does not seem to have sent them material aid.(5) Togan (Akhmed Zeki Validov), the Bashkir nationalist leader who was later involved in the Basmachis in Samarkand, believes that the British did nothing to help the Basmachis in the early days of the revolt and writes that Madamin's envoy to Kashgar had no success.(3)

The year 1919, however, brought the Basmachis important Russian allies.

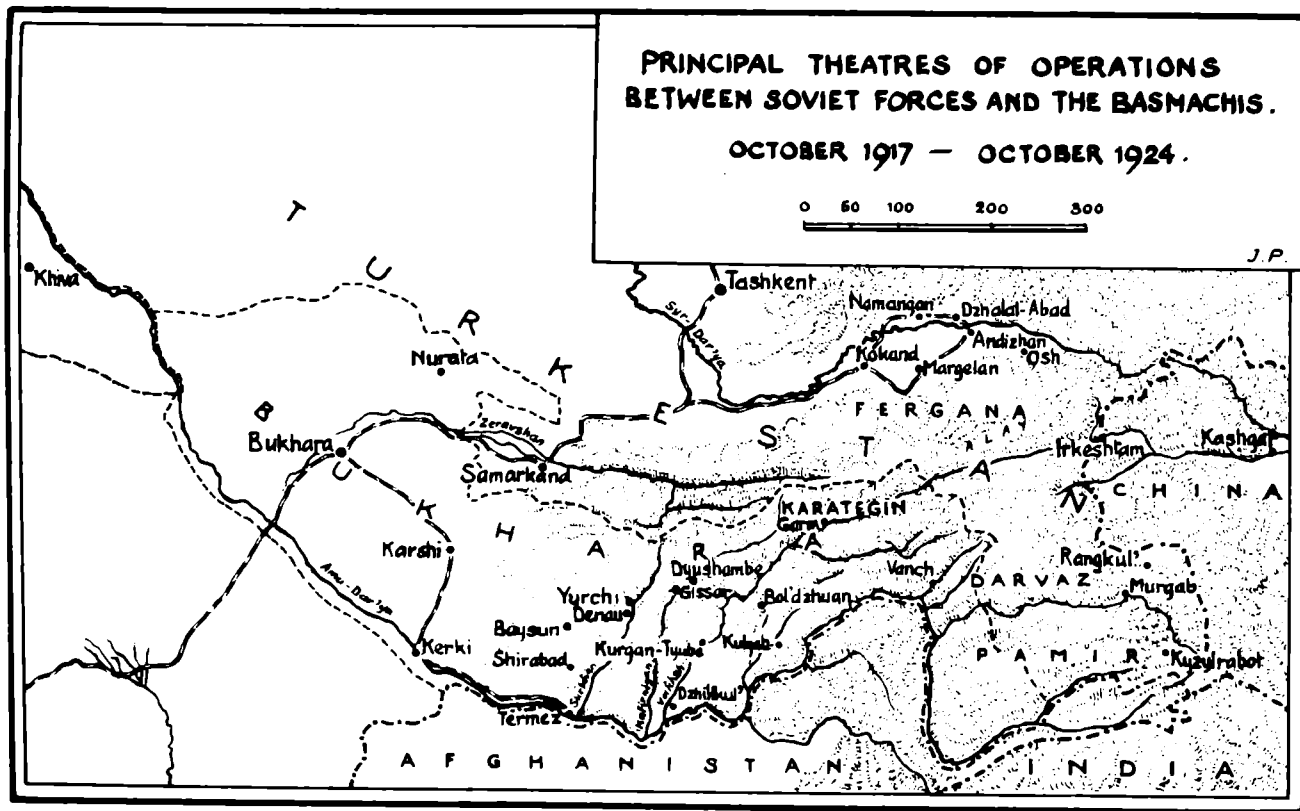
In January, Osipov, commissar for war in the Tashkent Government, staged an unsuccessful coup in Tashkent and fled to Fergana with some of his followers. For some months they joined Madamin, but left for Bukhara later in the year.(6) Of greater importance to Madamin was his alliance with the Russian "Peasant Army". This force consisted of Russian peasants settled near Dzhahalal-Abad who, having been armed by the Soviet Government in November 1918, became discontented with the rigours of War Communism and the harsh policies of Tashkent. In the summer of 1918 they entered into a formal alliance with Madamin. The combined forces captured Dzhahalal-Abad in August and followed up this success by taking Osh and Irkeshtam and by penetrating the Pamirs where they took Rangkul', Murgab, and Kyzylrabot. In the Fergana Valley, fighting became more violent: the Red Army was constantly harried and the entire railway line between Namangan and Andizhan was totally destroyed. No quarter was given to captured Soviet troops.

By September Madamin and his allies controlled enough territory in Fergana for them to feel the need of a unified and reorganized administration. Towards the end of September Madamin summoned a kurultay or congress of the population of Fergana at which a Provisional Government of Fergana was proclaimed with Madamin as president, and Monstrov, leader of the Peasant Army, as his deputy. With the aid of Russians, such as Belkin who became Madamin's chief of staff, military reorganization was carried out and administrative reforms realized. Through the Russians, contact was established with Kolchak and with other anti-Bolshevik Russian organizations. Madamin sent envoys to the Emir of Bukhara and in December 1919 received an Afghan delegation who offered him arms and financial help and who reconciled him with Irgash.(7)

The activities of Irgash during 1919 are obscure. It seems that he suffered a severe defeat from the Red Army in November 1918 (8) and in the spring of 1919 (9) made peace with the Soviet authorities. He was allowed to keep his troops and continue his rule of the Kokand district where he adopted a neutral position and did not interfere with Madamin. According to one report (1) he was killed during the summer of 1919 while fighting near Margelan and was succeeded by Khalkhodzha who joined forces with Madamin on 22nd August. (Khalkhodzha had been imprisoned during the Kerenskiy period for incitement against the Russians, but had escaped from Osh prison together with its other inmates in April 1918. (10)) Other reports confirm that Irgash was still alive in December when the Afghan delegation arrived, (11) but his name does not reappear after this time.

The success of the Fergana Provisional Government was short-lived, and external factors hastened its fall. In September the Red Army operating from central Russia defeated Ataman Dutov whose forces had for two years prevented contact between European Russia and Turkestan. Reinforcements reached the Soviet Government in Tashkent and a determined attack was made in Fergana. The Red Army recaptured Osh on 26th September and Dzhahalal-Abad on 30th. But political measures as well were to cause the fall of the Fergana Government, and disunity among the Basmachis.





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The New Soviet Policy: November 1919 to August 1920

In November 1919 full communications were opened between Tashkent and Moscow. The first action of the Central Government was to send the Turkestan Commission to take over authority in Tashkent from the much discredited Tashkent Bolsheviks. Immediate action was taken to win over the generally hostile native population: a Tatar brigade of the Red Army was sent to Fergana to win over their co-religionists, the Basmachis, as much by propaganda as by military operations; throughout Turkestan the bazaars were reopened and private trading permitted; food was distributed fairly between natives and Europeans; and the local population was encouraged to join the Communist Party and Soviet institutions.

The first of the rebels to be won over by the new policy was Monstrov's Peasant Army whose uneasy alliance with Madamin's Basmachis was strained by fear of Afghan influence after the visit of the Afghan delegation in December and by suspicion of Madamin who insisted on calling his troops a "Muslim People's Army" and who had called the populace to a holy war. On 12th January Monstrov started truce talks and on 17th his conditions, which included permission for his troops to retain their arms, were accepted. Most of the Russians who had been with Madamin now left him but he continued to fight for a few more months increasingly hampered by famine. On 31st January two lesser Basmachi leaders surrendered with 600 armed and 2,000 unarmed troops; and on 4th February, Parpi who had been active in the Andizhan area surrendered with 3,000 soldiers. Soviet troops now attacked Madamin in force. He was defeated but escaped. Peace offers were made to other Basmachi leaders including Islankul (Namangan district), Khalkhodzha, and Aman Palvan (one of Madamin's lieutenants). Each Basmachi leader was offered the right to retain such territory as he had conquered together with his troops and his arms; further, no Soviet institutions were to be set up in Basmachi territory and each Basmachi leader was to enjoy the status of Soviet brigade commander.(1) In March the commander of the Tatar brigade opened talks with Madamin and on 7th March an agreement was signed by which in return for an amnesty Madamin acknowledged Soviet rule.(1) The surrender of Madamin broke the resistance of the other Basmachi leaders and during March all except Kurshirmat (or Shirmukhamad Bek), who was to prove one of the most stubborn fighters, surrendered to the Soviet authorities.

On 14th May Madamin who had been sent on a peace mission to Kurshirmat was shot by him as a spy and a traitor. Kurshirmat now became undisputed Basmachi leader in Fergana and set up his own Provisional Government in May 1920. Russian administrative divisions were abolished and replaced by the system that had existed under the khans of Kokand.(12) Like Irgash, Kurshirmat was a conservative and worked closely with the clergy. He sent envoys to the Emir of Bukhara to seek his assistance but the Emir, apparently feeling bound by his treaty with the Tashkent Government (signed in March 1918 after the failure of the Bolshevik attack on Bukhara), cast them into prison and refused his

aid.(3) On 31st May therefore Kurshirmat sent his brother Tash Mekhmet to Afghanistan.

The success of the Soviet Government against all but Kurshirmat was, however, more apparent than real. The Basmachis who were enrolled in the Red Army caused continual problems owing to their indiscipline and addiction to plunder. Native mistrust of the Bolsheviks revived after the disappearance of Madamin whose fate was not known for some time. Moreover labour conscription, and in the summer of 1920, military conscription were introduced, and other unpopular measures such as requisitions continued. The nationalist intellectuals too were increasingly disillusioned by Soviet nationality policy in other parts of Russia. The events of September 1920 were to set off a new and revived Basmachi resistance movement.

#### The Rising Spreads to Bukhara: September 1920 to September 1921

In September 1920 the Red Army launched a successful attack on Bukhara. The Emir fled and a Young Bukharan Government was set up in his place. The Young Bukharan party was a liberal, reformist group composed mostly of young men of rich families who had been inspired by the dzhadid movement. In their opposition to the Emir's regime the party sought allies in the Russian Bolsheviks. The party fell into two factions: the moderates, and the communists, the latter being naturally more pro-Bolshevik. Both factions were united in their hatred of the old regime. The new government was closely supervised by the Russians; but it had some independence and inevitably certain tensions arose between the Young Bukharans and the Bolsheviks, which increased as the Basmachi movement in East Bukhara grew stronger. Bukhara became the rallying ground for Muslim intellectuals driven by choice or by necessity from many parts of Russia. Among them was the Bashkir leader, Togan, who arrived in Bukhara in 1921 and set about organizing the secret Turkestan National Union which aimed at a genuinely national government for Turkestan free from Russian domination.(3) Many Turkish officers, exiles or former prisoners of war, were also to be found in Bukhara at this time.

The Emir fled from his capital to East Bukhara, a mountainous region with a long history of unrest and rebellion. Here he joined his most fervent supporters, the chiefs of the turbulent local tribes, of whom the most important were Ibrahim Bek of the Lakay tribe, Tokay Sari, Ishan Sultan, and Dauletmend Bek. These united in opposing the new regime in the capital and, although at first they had little contact with Fergana, became also known as Basmachis.

Having consolidated their rule, with Russian help in western Bukhara, the Young Bukharans turned their attention to East Bukhara. In February 1921 a Red Army expedition was despatched to Gissar. It occupied Denau on 16th February, Dyushambe (now Stalinabad, the capital of Tadzhikistan) on 21st, and Kulyab on 15th March. Early in March, the Emir, under pressure from the Soviet advance, fled to Afghanistan, and in May settled near Kabul. In spite of Soviet repres-

entations to the Afghan Government, he continued to take an active interest in the fate of his former kingdom and was in close contact with the rebels of East Bukhara. During the summer of 1921, the Young Bukharan Government sent Ata Khodzha to negotiate with the Basmachis. On 1st August he concluded a treaty with some of the rebel leaders by which they swore to recognize the new government. In return Ata Khodzha promised not to allow Russian interference in East Bukhara. But the Russians refused to ratify this agreement, and as Ata Khodzha had failed to win over Ishan Sultan, Ibrahim Bek, or Tokay Sari, whose fanatical hatred of the dzhadidi prevented the possibility of any compromise with the Young Bukharans, the Basmachis took once more to arms.(3) In September Ata Khodzha was forced to withdraw with the Russian troops to Dyushambe in the face of a fierce Basmachi attack. Tension increased between the Young Bukharan negotiators and the Russian commanders. In September Ata Khodzha was replaced by his brother Osman Khodzha as Bukharan representative in East Bukhara, and Ali Riza Bek took over command of the Bukharan troops which were posted with the Russian troops at Dyushambe. The Russian commander began to intrigue with Ibrahim Bek against the Young Bukharans. Ibrahim encamped near Dyushambe, ambushed and tortured any Young Bukharans that fell into his grasp, but left the Russians unmolested.(3)

If the Basmachis of East Bukhara were prepared to use the Russians as allies in the bitter hostility to the "innovators", those of the Samarkand area were prepared to cooperate with the reformists against the Russians. Togan recounts how he was able to win over Dzhebbbar (Jabbar)+ Bek and Akhil Bek, among others, to the ideas of the National Union. They agreed to support the Young Bukharans and to work for a strong national government free from Russian influence. But Togan's Union failed to win over Abdul Kakhar, one of the most powerful Basmachi leaders in this area and a staunch emirist.(3)

Meanwhile, in Fergana, the Basmachi movement gained new vitality. Well armed, well mounted, and with general popular support, the Basmachis won control of all the Fergana countryside and the towns of Margelan, Namangan and Andizhan as well. Under the command of Kurshirmat, they destroyed cotton mills and the railway line; they made contact with Togan's National Union (Kurshirmat sent two delegates to the Baku Congress of Peoples of the East in September 1920 to establish relations (3)), and with various Russian anti-Bolshevik groups. They had supporters in Party and Soviet offices, and thus received advance information about Russian moves. Their ranks were strengthened by the adherence of Turkish officers and Muslim intellectuals from many parts of Russia.(3) In spite of several large-scale attacks the Red Army could make little headway against them until the summer of 1921, when the Soviet forces were greatly reinforced.

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\* See "A Note on Sources", fourth paragraph, at end of article.

In spite of the fact that the Emir of Bukhara had refused Kurshirmat help earlier in the year, after his deposition in September 1920 the Emir sent letters and presents to Kurshirmat asking for assistance. Kurshirmat apparently felt himself sufficiently strong to send 500 men under his brother Ruz Mekhmet, and later in the year went himself to East Bukhara to meet the Emir at Dyushambe.(3)

The Soviet Government was using both military and political methods against the Fergana Basmachis at this time: peace talks were interspersed with increasing military pressure. Attempts were made to win over the native population and the newly formed Red Militia had some success. In August 1921 truce talks were started with Kurshirmat and his deputy the Kirgiz Muetdin. But the Basmachis refused to agree to lay down their arms.

In September, however, the Red Army was reinforced by two divisions. On 12th September Nizam Khodzhayev, President of the Central Executive Committee of Turkestan, came to negotiate with Kurshirmat. According to Kurshirmat's memoirs quoted by Togan (3) Nizam Khodzhayev said: "I now embody the Government of Turkestan. You may join us and should it be necessary we shall die together." Whereupon Kurshirmat asked: "Is the Russian Military Staff in Tashkent with its troops also subordinate to you?" "Yes." "If that is so, command them to abandon the whole of Turkestan immediately. From that hour I too will enter your service and recognize you." Nizam Khodzhayev hung his head for shame and left without another word. A Soviet source (Ginzburg (9)) says only that Kurshirmat was presented with an ultimatum to disarm, that he prevaricated, and therefore the Red Army launched an attack. After furious fighting near Margelan, Kurshirmat was defeated and fled to East Bukhara. Severe casualties depleted the Basmachi ranks; among those that fell was the Kirgiz scholar Turekul Dzhanuzakogly, who was one of the first to have studied Kirgiz oral epics and to have written down the great saga MANAS. The Red attack was so successful that only Muetdin was left to carry on the struggle with greatly reduced troops and territory.(3) But if the back had been broken of the Fergana rebels, the rising in Bukhara had not yet reached its zenith.

#### The Epic of Enver Pasha: November 1921 to August 1922

By the end of 1921 the effects of the New Economic Policy began to be felt in Central Asia. Private trading was once more allowed, and the peasants were given funds and seeds. In addition, in their effort to win the native population the Soviet Government reintroduced the shariat courts, restored the waqf lands to religious foundations and permitted religious schools to be reopened. In Fergana the much weakened Basmachis fell prey to Soviet intrigues which set one leader against another and Kirgiz against Uzbek. A rift opened between Muetdin the Kirgiz commander in Fergana and his deputy the Uzbek Izrail Bek. In January 1922 Kurshirmat came especially from East Bukhara in a fruitless attempt to restore unity. In face of a determined Soviet advance Muetdin was forced

back to the Alay mountains where he was captured in June. In September he was put to death. But a handful of local leaders continued to form pockets of resistance in the Fergana area.

In East Bukhara the situation remained unchanged until the arrival in the autumn of 1921 of the already legendary Enver Pasha whose adherence to the Basmachis gave the resistance movement a short-lived international renown. After the defeat of Turkey in the World War, Enver Pasha who had been the leading figure in the Young Turk triumvirate, was disgraced and condemned to death by the nationalist government of Kemal Ataturk. He escaped to Germany and thence, in 1920, to Moscow, hoping to find in the Russian Bolsheviks allies in his personal campaign against British imperialism. On its side, the Russian Government hoped to use Enver's immense prestige in the Islamic world to win the Muslims of Russia to the Bolsheviks. Jemal Pasha, the second member of the triumvirate, had reached Russia before Enver and was sent to Afghanistan in October 1920 to dispel Afghan suspicions of Moscow. It seems likely that Lenin hoped to use Enver in a similar capacity in Bukhara. A closer acquaintance with the Bolsheviks, however, gradually raised doubts in Enver's mind, and the Soviet treaty with Kemal, Enver's bitterest rival, which was signed in March 1921 no doubt decided him to change his allegiance. In October 1921 Enver arrived in Bukhara apparently "on a mission of peace" to the Basmachis. (13)

In Bukhara he learned of the situation in East Bukhara and held discussions with nationalist leaders. Togan reports his first meeting with Enver at which Enver discussed his plans for uniting the Basmachis and the nationalists against the Russians. Togan attempted to dissuade him arguing that the Russians were now in a position to concentrate all their military strength in Turkestan, that the country was suffering an acute famine, that the Fergana Basmachis had been much weakened, and that no understanding had yet been reached between the Emir and his supporters and the reformists. Togan urged Enver instead to go to Afghanistan where his services would be more valuable. Others, however, and notably Hajji Sami, a Turkish officer who accompanied Enver, urged him to join the Basmachis. For some days Enver was undecided; but his cold reception by the Russian representative in Bukhara, Yurinev, decided his course of action. On his last night in Bukhara he told his aide Muhiyeddin: "We must fight for Turkestan, and if we fear the death that is ordained by fate and prefer to live the life of dogs we deserve the curses of our ancestors and of our descendants. But if we can bear to fight for freedom, we shall have ensured the liberty and happiness of our descendants." Muhiyeddin recalls that Enver dreamed of creating a Turkic kingdom in Turkestan. (3)

Early in November 1921 Enver rode out of the city of Bukhara ostensibly on a hunting expedition. He was accompanied by a party of 25 of his closest adherents. Khalil, the deputy chief of police in Bukhara, went in advance to Dyushambe to warn Ali Riza and Osman Khodzha of Enver's approach. Enver travelled through Karshi to Termez where he was joined by Osman Kharvush, head of the Shirabad militia, with about 50 men. His force grew to about 100 men.

At Dzhilikul' he met the Basmachi leader Tokay Sari who commanded some 2,000 men and who warned him not to make contact with Ibrahim Bek. But at the end of November Enver moved into Ibrahim's territory and on 1st December the two leaders met. Ibrahim at once disarmed Enver on suspicion that he was a Bolshevik spy and Enver was kept virtually a prisoner for some six weeks until a letter from the Emir dispelled Ibrahim's suspicion. But Enver was still looked on with mistrust as the man who "turned out Sultan Abdul Hamid and started the whole of the New Movement".(3)

Hajji Sami meanwhile had travelled to Dyushambe, enlisted Osman Khodzha and Ali Riza, and attempted a coup against the Russians. The troops at Dyushambe consisted of 600 Uzbeks commanded by Ali Riza, and a smaller number of Russians. The Russians, however, offered stubborn resistance and were helped by Ibrahim Bek. On 12th December Ali Riza was forced to surrender the town and fled with Hajji Sami and Osman Khodzha to Afghanistan, hotly pursued by the Russians and Ibrahim Bek's Lakays.

On 15th January 1922, however, Enver Pasha was released by Ibrahim Bek and allowed to join Ishan Sultan at Gissar. From now on his successes grew and as his prestige heightened so more and more flocked to join his force. At the end of January with a small force of 200 poorly armed Tadziks he advanced on Dyushambe. At the first attack Enver captured 120 rifles and two machine guns. He besieged the town and by 8th February the Russians had lost 100 men and 88 had deserted to Enver. On 14th February the town was surrendered and Enver pursued the Russians to Mirtyube. Later in February, warned of an impending Russian attack, Enver withdrew to Kafirnigan. Nonetheless the capture of Dyushambe won him the support of other Basmachi leaders. Early in March Kurshirmat sent 100 soldiers from Fergana under his brother Ruz Mekhmet to join Enver. In April 300 Afghan volunteers, recruited by Hajji Sami and Osman Khodzha in Kabul, joined Enver bringing arms and money. In the middle of April at a meeting of rebel leaders at Kafirnigan Enver was declared to be their political and military leader and he took the title of "Commander of the Muslim and Bukharan Armies". Finally in May, Ibrahim Bek came to make his apologies, but he still mistrusted Enver and took no part in the fighting.

Optimism grew among the Basmachis. By May Enver's troops had grown to 7,000. He was joined by the former President of the Kokand Government, Adil Dzhan, by 70-year old Khadzhi Khekem (Hajji Hakim) who had been formerly in the service of Yakub Bek at Kashgar, by the Azerbaydzhani scholar and reformist, Akhund Yusuf Telibzade, and most significant of all, by the Bukharan Minister of War, Abdul Khamid (Hamid) Arifov. At the end of April Enver sent emissaries to other parts of Turkestan to unite the resistance movement. He appealed to the Turkmen leader Dzhunaid Khan who was still showing strong resistance in the Karakum desert. Ali Riza was sent to the Amu-Dar'ya to make contact with the Turkmen, and Telibzade went to Samarkand whence he was to travel north into Kazakhstan to win support there. Enver advanced on Baysun, the fortress which commanded the approaches to western Bukhara, but in spite of repeated attacks he was unable to make it surren-  
er.



Meanwhile the Basmachis around Samarkand who worked closely with the National Union gained control of most of the countryside. But Enver does not seem to have had much success in uniting them with his own forces. In March and April Abdul Kakhar, the strongest but most reactionary of the Samarkand Basmachis, besieged Bukhara. This attack is frequently ascribed to Enver (14) but in fact he seems to have had no part in it. In May the Basmachis were so strong around Samarkand that when Eliava and Ordzhonikidze visited Ulug Bek's Observatory they could do so only under a strong guard.(3)

In April a ten-man Soviet peace delegation arrived in Baysun to negotiate a truce.(1) But Enver's reply was uncompromising: "Peace is only acceptable after the withdrawal of Russian troops from Turkestan soil. The Freedom Fighters, whose commander I am, have sworn to fight for independence and freedom until their last breath." Togan wrote to Enver urging him to accept the peace offer as he had news from Moscow that the Soviet Government intended to send 100,000 men to Turkestan if the offer were refused.(3) Possibly before Togan's letter arrived, however, Enver sent an ultimatum to the Soviet Government on 19th May through his friend Nariman Narimanov, President of the Azerbaydzhan Soviet Republic. Enver demanded that all Russian forces and all Soviet institutions should be removed from Turkestan, Khiva, and Bukhara within fifteen days of the receipt of the ultimatum. Not surprisingly the Soviet Government did not reply, but massed its troops for an attack.(1)

Intrigues started between the Russians and the Emir's followers. Former officials of the Emir were taken into the service of the Young Bukharan Government and made contact with the emirist Basmachis and thus learned of the rebels' movements. The Emir's supporters started to attack the Basmachis who were of more liberal outlook. In April Abdul Kakhar's band attacked and murdered twelve Bashkir officers who had come to join the Samarkand Basmachis. Ishan Sultan attacked and disarmed the forces of Fuzayl Makhdum, a staunch supporter of Enver, in Karategin. Another emirist, Evliyakul Toksaba attacked Dzhebbar Bek and then deserted to the Russians with 400 men.(3) Ibrahim Bek and his Lakays continued to harry Enver, and in July Enver was forced to send Dauletmend with a strong force against them. Enver was in close contact with the Emir and urged him to use his influence among his followers, but whether from inability or from disinclination the Emir did nothing.

In June and July Soviet military pressure increased. In June they captured Nurata, a stronghold of the Samarkand Basmachis, and in July advanced into East Bukhara taking Denau, Dyushambe, Kurgan-Tyube, Kulyab, and Bol'dzhuan. Enver with his depleted forces retreated east. In July the Afghan volunteers who were with him were recalled to Kabul as a result of a rapprochement between Moscow and Kabul. Ibrahim Bek and the Lakays continued to attack anyone they considered to be a dzhadid and cooperated with the Russians. On 4th August Enver with a small band of his most devoted followers was celebrating the feast of sacrifice at a village near Bol'dzhuan. Warning

came that a Russian force of 300 men was approaching. Enver immediately left his companions and with only 25 men rode to the attack. After furious hand to hand fighting in which the faithful Dauletmend fell Enver was killed by a machine gun bullet fired by a Russian soldier from a rock above the gorge where the fighting took place. Enver was buried at Cheken near Bol'dzhuan and fifteen thousand people gathered at his funeral to lament his death.(15)

The Basmachis are Crushed: September 1922 to the end of 1923

From the autumn of 1922 Soviet troops poured into the Basmachi areas. In Fergana, the Red forces cordoned the towns and prevented contact between town and countryside. Corn was imported to the towns, but the Basmachis and the peasants in the countryside suffered acute famine. In March 1923 the Soviet authorities offered the peasants corn on condition that they used it only for their own food and that they planted cotton. Forced by hunger the peasants agreed. The Basmachis were thus deprived of their food supplies and had to extort corn by force from the peasantry. They lost their strongest weapon - the support of the local population and the movement deteriorated into banditry. Once more they became prey to internal dissensions. Although desperately weakened, those who still continued to fight were the most convinced and stubborn opponents of Russian rule, and it was not until June 1923 that the Red Army cleared the Andizhan and Namangan districts, while the Kokand area was not freed from Basmachis until August.

In Samarkand too, the Basmachis gave stubborn resistance as they were forced further into the Turkestan and Gissar mountains. Togan who was fighting with Akhil Bek's group left them to escape to Europe at the end of 1922. After much hard fighting Akhil Bek was killed in May 1923. Other Basmachis from this area were either crushed or retreated to East Bukhara.

After Enver Pasha's death, Hajji Sami was elected commander in East Bukhara, and started a desperate campaign for unit among his much depleted forces. He sent emissaries to Ishan Sultan, who had withdrawn to the Darvaz mountains, and on his refusing to fight, captured him and put him to death. Ibrahim Bek had been attacked by the Russians after Enver's death and agreed to join Hajji Sami. Kurshirmat too rallied to his side and his seasoned Fergana troops were the nucleus of Hajji Sami's small force. But the Basmachis were forced ever further east and north into the mountains and in spite of vigorous partisan actions could make no impression on the overwhelming mass of the Soviet army. Kurshirmat left for Afghanistan at the end of 1922. In May 1923 Hajji Sami suffered a crushing defeat, and, badly wounded, escaped to Afghanistan on 23rd June. Deprived of a commander, the Basmachis splintered into small local groups. In July 1923 the Red Army pushed into Karategin and on 17th captured Garm. From here they mopped up the remnants of the Fergana Basmachis who had retreated into the Alay mountains.

Resistance was now broken, but small pockets of opposition still existed. Around Kerki, Ali Riza fought on for three more months, and Abdul Kakhar who had withdrawn from the Samarkand area continued to fight well into 1924. During 1925 Kurshirmat's brother was still active around Bol'dzhuan and Ibrahim Bek continued fighting in the Vakhsh valley. But most of the other leaders escaped to Afghanistan.

In November 1925 Soviet troops occupied the island of Urta-Tugay in the Amu-Dar'ya on the grounds that it was being used as a base for Basmachi raids into Soviet territory. In 1926 Ibrahim Bek withdrew to Afghanistan. At the end of 1928 Amanullah, the Emir of Afghanistan, was overthrown and his throne temporarily seized by Bachcha-i-Saqao, a bandit leader from northern Afghanistan.(16) Whether from encouragement from the new ruler - as Soviet sources allege - or from the generally anarchic situation in Afghanistan, or whether from native opposition to the Soviet collectivization drive in the Soviet Union, Basmachi raids from Afghanistan into Soviet territory grew bolder in the early months of 1929. In April 1929 Maksim Fuzayli crossed the border and in twelve days advanced 200 kilometres to Garm increasing his troops on the way from 25 to 500. At the same time Kurshirmat captured the village of Vanch. But Soviet paratroops quickly dealt with these incursions.(17)

Throughout 1930 and 1931 Ibrahim Bek continued to harass the Soviet authorities. There was considerable press speculation on his whereabouts, but he was captured by Soviet troops in July 1931 after leading yet another raid, and was executed shortly after.(18) Ibrahim Bek was the last of the leading Basmachis to be suppressed, but emigre Turkestan newspapers continued to report sporadic outbursts of local resistance even up to 1950.(19)

### Some General Conclusions

Turkestan writers such as Hayit, or Togan, see the Basmachi movement as a national revolt of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia against Russian domination. Togan writes: "The Basmachi movement is a great national movement. . . It was joined by men who had taken part in the 1916 rising, by those who participated in the revolt of Dukchi Ishan in 1898, by old men who had fought with the last khans of Kokand and with Yakub Bek of Kashgar. . . This national rising was adopted by the Turkestan National Union and it was joined by members of the Bashkir, Bukharan and Khivan governments, by Kirgiz and Kazakh intellectuals, by western Turkish officers, by Enver Pasha, by many Afghans and Kashgaris. . . Not since the sixteenth century has there been a national movement among the Turkic races of Turkestan which absorbed every class of the native population. . . and lasted for so many years."(3) Both Togan and Hayit emphasize that the movement was "pan-Turk" rather than "pan-Islamic", that it fought for political independence rather than for traditional Islam.

While it is true that the Basmachi revolt covered a large area and in-

volved a large number of people fighting was restricted always to local partisan actions. There was contact but little coordination between the numerous local leaders, and even Enver Pasha failed to weld the Basmachis into a single force. Moreover those Basmachi leaders who achieved the greatest renown were not the intellectuals or the reformists but the conservative Muslims such as Irgash, Kurshirmat, Ishan Sultan, or Ibrahim Bek. Ginzburg (9) says of the Fergana Basmachis: "The Kokand Government gave the Basmachi movement its leaders and a political character, former robbers made up the general staff, and the ruined peasantry became the rank and file." But it would seem to be truer to say that the former robbers were both the leaders and the general staff. Vasilevskiy (17) is more accurate when he says that the native bourgeoisie were too weak to become the leaders of the revolt and so they joined forces either with the reactionaries or with Russian anti-Bolshevik groups.

The rise of the Basmachi revolt in East Bukhara was a direct consequence of the overthrow of the Emir. But the origins of the Fergana Basmachis are more complex. The Fergana Valley had been conquered by the Russians in 1875-6, but the population were not reconciled to their new rulers and rose against the Russians in 1877-82, 1886, 1898, and 1916. The mullas and educated classes remained openly hostile. Under Russian rule cotton-growing had been introduced and by the Great War 50 per cent of the cultivable area was under cotton. Fergana became the most prosperous area of Russian Turkestan. By 1917 the dislocation in the transport system meant that huge stocks of cotton had accumulated in Fergana while insufficient grain was imported. The result was an acute economic crisis, mass unemployment and famine, which affected all classes. The immediate causes of the movement can be found in the excesses of the early Soviet government, the abolition of the shariat, and in the sacking of Kokand.

Soviet sources such as Vasilevskiy (17) ascribe the defeat of the Basmachis to the success of the Soviet authorities in winning over the peasantry, to increasing prosperity and to the introduction of reforms. While the relatively lenient policies of the N.E.P. period certainly contributed to the decline of the revolt, there is no doubt that dissension in the Basmachi ranks and the sheer weight of Russian arms were overriding factors. Today the vastly increased number of Russian settlers in Central Asia precludes any possibility of such a widespread revolt being repeated.

### A Note on Sources

A standard account of the Basmachis in Fergana, written from the Soviet point of view, is Ginzburg's article "The Basmachi Movement in Fergana" (NOVYY VOSTOK, 10-11, 1925). This has been used as the basis for the account of the Basmachis in the Fergana Valley. Joseph Castagné's LES BASMATCHIS (Paris, 1925) contains some useful information on Fergana and East Bukhara, but the chronology

is often not clear, and the work is based largely on newspaper reports.

The basis for the account of the East Bukharan Basmachis is a typescript English translation of Togan's *TURKILI VE YAKIN TARIHI* (Istanbul, 1942-7). Though his general conclusions are somewhat romanticized and his narrative not always clearly exposed, Togan writes with personal knowledge of the events and personalities involved in them.

The most valuable general account of the movement is to be found in Baymirza Hayit's *TURKESTAN IM XX. JAHRHUNDERT* (Darmstadt, 1956). Hayit has used Russian, German and Turkestanian sources, including Ginzburg and Togan.

The problem of transliteration is gravely complicated by the variety of sources used. In general, place and personal names have been transliterated from the current Russian versions. Where common Muslim names are obscured by transliteration from Russian the more usual spelling has been added in brackets e.g. Khadzhi (Hajji).

#### Notes

- (1) Baymirza Hayit. *TURKESTAN IM XX. JAHRHUNDERT*, Darmstadt, 1956, Chapter III. (A typescript English translation has been used.)
- (2) Akhmed Zeki Validi Togan. *TURKILI VE YAKIN TARIHI*, Istanbul, 1942-7, Chapter V. (A typescript English translation has been used.) Togan says that Kishkin Irgash, head of the Kokand troops, was killed after 12 days fighting near Kokand and his place taken by Katte Irgash. Joseph Castagné. *LES BASMATCHIS*, Paris, 1925, pp.81-82.
- (3) Togan, op.cit.
- (4) Castagné, op.cit., pp.21-22. See also Alexander G. Park, *BOLSHEVISM IN TURKESTAN*, New York, 1957, pp.31, 41.
- (5) Etherton. *IN THE HEART OF ASIA*, London, 1925, pp.151, 159, 230. See also *CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW*, Vol.VII, No.2, "The Revolt in Transcaspia", pp.126-8, for an account of alleged British intervention in Turkestan in 1918-20.
- (6) Castagné, op.cit., p.84.
- (7) I. Reysner. *AFGANISTAN*, Moscow, 1929, pp.205-7. See also *CAR*, Vol.IV, No.2, p.172, for an account of the Afghan attitude to the Basmachis at this time.
- (8) Castagné, p.82.

- (9 ) Ginzburg. "Basmachi Movement in Fergana", NOVYY VOSTOK, 10-11, 1925, says that this was in February. Togan op.cit. says in May.
- (10) Hayit, op.cit.; Castagné, p.83.
- (11) Castagné, p.18; Reysner, op.cit.
- (12) Hayit gives a full account of Kurshirmat's administration.
- (13) See BULLETIN PERIODIQUE DE LA PRESSE RUSSE, No.107, June and July 1922.
- (14) See Fitzroy Maclean. A PERSON FROM ENGLAND, London, 1958, p.343; and G.S. Agabekov. G.P.U. ZAPISKI CHEKISTA, Berlin, 1930, pp.47-48.
- (15) This version of Enver's death seems to be the best substantiated. Agabekov op.cit., however, devotes a chapter of his book to describing how he was sent by the Soviet counter-espionage organization to find Enver. Disguised as a merchant he travelled to East Bukhara to the camp where Enver was settled. The camp was two days' journey from Denau. Having located him, Agabekov sent word back to the Russian commander at Denau who immediately despatched a force which attacked the camp and killed Enver. In another work (CHEKA ZA RABOTOI, Berlin, 1931) which is used by Fitzroy Maclean (14) Agabekov describes Enver's camp as one day's journey from Denau. Bol'dzhuan where according to other sources (Castagné, Hayit, Togan op.cit.) Enver was killed is about 100 miles from Denau as the crow flies and the intervening country is mountainous and broken by steep valleys. Agabekov's story must thus be suspect.
- (16) See CAR, Vol.IV, No.4, pp.176-7, 178, 179-80.
- (17) Vasilevskiy. "Phases of the Basmachi Movement in Central Asia", NOVYY VOSTOK, No.29, 1930.
- (18) CAR ibidem, p.199.
- (19) Hayit, op.cit., Note 530.

## RECENT LITERATURE IN CENTRAL ASIA

A prominent feature of the Soviet regime in Central Asia has been the creation of new national literatures. The pre-Revolutionary tradition was mainly poetical and the literary forms of the novel, short story, drama and film script are still young. In the absence of any native tradition these forms have developed according to the example of Russian classical and Soviet literatures, which are still the official models for study. In the circumstances, the relation of Russian to Asian Soviet literature is that of an elder brother, while the official Asian attitude towards Russian Soviet literature is one of provincial deference towards the metropolis.

Soviet authorities regard it as important that the literature of a previously backward people should include all literary forms. A subordinate reason for this is that some have a greater propaganda capacity than others (for example the play and film script). The main reason, however, is that the degree of development of a people's literature is taken as an index of the degree of development of its culture and economy as a whole so that a fully developed literature becomes a convenient symbol of the benefits of the October Revolution. This has a bearing on the level of technical skill of Soviet Central Asian literature.

Technical skill

In Kazakhstan it was reported at a plenum of the Management Committee of the Writers' Union that Kazakh poetry was characterized by "wordiness, rhetoric, inability to solve the themes undertaken powerfully, originally and vividly, inability to respond to important events in the life of the republic and of the whole Soviet land in such a way as to sear the hearts of men with its voice".(1)

In Turkmenistan also young writers, while praised by Abdulla Muradov for their choice of subjects, are criticized for their inability to draw convincing characters and for their pale language.(2)

There is a more drastic mixture of praise and blame in the case of Kirgiz writers who are praised for their increased skill in character-drawing since the war (when, apparently, the heroes of prose and verse works had frequently been men "whom fire does not burn, nor water drown", who would be more in place in the folk-epics from which they were presumably drawn). By 1957 they had been replaced by typical representatives of the present time as a result of Kirgiz authors' "thoughtful assimilation" of the rich experience of, among others, Russian literature.

At the same time THE LAST CARTRIDGE by N. Baytemirov was criticized for its portrayal of a class enemy who, instead of working in quiet concealment, draws attention to himself by abducting a Komsomol secretary and trying to marry her forcibly. "To our eyes", writes the author of the article, "this character is quite unrepresentative [of a class enemy]".(3)

Writing about Azerbaydzhani poetry A. Effendiyev says (4) that "character is the Achilles' heel of the long poems of today", and M. Guseyn (5) reproaches Azerbaydzhani poets for writing derivative poems dealing with worn-out situations. Agricultural themes were being treated in a cliché'd style which had grown up recently, while the theatre and cinema (apart from the work of I. Efendiyev) were both laggards.

These criticisms were repeated at the Third Writers' Congress of Azerbaydzhani where some prose works, especially those on agricultural subjects, were characterized as primitive, schematic, full of longueurs, unnecessary details and tiresome descriptions.(6)

Sweeping criticisms of the young writers of Tadzhikistan appeared in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in a report of the proceedings of a plenum of the Management Committee of the Tadzhik Writers' Union. Plays were said to lack conflict, to contain too much talk and not enough action and to be guilty of schematic character drawing and careless and inexpressive language. Prose works are said to deal with shallow subjects, to be monotonous and at times "quite hopeless". Young writers are in too much of a hurry to publish and as a result do not polish their work. So, in a recent book by M. Sharki, who, in spite of all, is said to be talented, only one story deserves approval; the others are so bad in subject, language and composition that they cannot be called literature at all. Young writers in general, the article reports, are unwilling to work or take advice and are spoiled by indulgent criticism.(7) Tadzhik playwrights were also criticized (8) for not having produced a new play on a contemporary theme for the Tadzhik Ten-Day Festival in Moscow.

At a writers' meeting called by the Tadzhik Central Committee no less a person than the president of the Writers' Union, M. Tursun-zade, was criticized for leaving his hitherto much praised poem THE VOICE OF ASIA in a half-finished state in the original, trusting that its faults would be glossed over in the Russian translation (which the author obviously considered to be more important). The original Tadzhik version was said to be no more than a first draft.(9)

The most comprehensive criticism of technical weaknesses in a Central Asian literature, however, appears in ZVEZDA VOSTOKA.(10) In this article young Uzbek writers are criticized for faulty construction, love of clichés, unnatural, lifeless dialogue, the use of Dei ex machina to aid the plot over a difficult situation and a primitive and naive conception of the positive hero combined with a general inability to draw characters. Their stories are encumbered with irrelevant detail. THE SON-IN-LAW by S. Anarbayev, for example, is an attempt at the



"psychological" type of story in which the point - the disappointment of an old man in his son-in-law and his family whom he meets at a family gathering - is intended to be conveyed by a description of things done and said without the direct intervention of the author, speaking in his own person. The criticism indicates that it was an unsuccessful attempt at the genre from any point of view but suggests (since it is criticized also for not containing a declaration of the author's point of view) that few stories of this type are likely to be favourably received in the Soviet Union. The article goes on to criticize young Uzbek writers for their high-flown language even in dialogue. The following example is given (the heroine speaks): "This man, my husband, in his nobility appears to me like the sun, thrusting his rays through gloom. That man I curse like a shade before my eyes, but this man I worship." Finally, the article concludes, there is noticeable in different authors a depressing similarity of theme and treatment, even of characters: the setting is a factory (or kolkhoz) and the home. The heroes, whether intellectuals, workers or collective farmers, experience and suffer the same things. The basic conflict is likely to be between a suffering wife and a feudally-minded husband or, more recently, between an ideal husband and a spoiled wife.

It is difficult to decide how correctly the above criticisms represent modern Central Asian literature. As was noted above in the case of Tursun-zade originally weak productions often gain from translation into Russian. Also, critics have naturally tended to pay more attention to technical faults than to technical excellences. However, certain conclusions can be drawn. The above criticisms refer mainly, though not exclusively, to young writers and it is obvious that their low level of technical achievement is causing concern. Many reasons are alleged for this state of affairs - idleness on the part of the young writers themselves, lack of experienced guidance from the writers' organizations and from senior writers, indulgent criticism. Young writers' faults appear also to be due to an inadequate grasp of realism as a technique. Their weakness in this direction may be partly explained by the fact that they have no native realistic tradition to fall back upon, partly by the extreme care necessary in a Soviet writer to prevent his realism from toppling over the edge into "naturalism" (see below). Finally, the Soviet eagerness that all forms should be represented in Central Asian literature has obviously led to the publication of works which would, perhaps, never be considered for publication in any other country. This has made the quantitative achievement of Soviet Central Asian literature impressive, but at the expense of quality.

### The role of literary criticism

During any discussion of the shortcomings of Central Asian literature in the Soviet press, one of the many alleged reasons - and one which is constant - is unsatisfactory literary criticism. In almost all the cases of technical weakness quoted above the literary critic was one of the scapegoats, in some cases for indulgent criticism which "spoils" young writers, in others for in-

discriminately damning criticism which discourages them, and on one occasion for partiality: I.D. Mustafayev, First Secretary of the Azerbaydzhani Central Committee, accused critics of working on the basis of "this was written by X, so we cannot criticize it; this was written by Y, so we must criticize it".

Theoretically the literary critic's task is more than literary. He is expected to comment not only on the form, style, construction etc. of a given work, but also on the ideological correctness of the development of its theme. Mustafayev's remark implies that these two duties sometimes conflict and this can be confirmed from independent sources.

There are some differences observable between certain passages in the Russian and Kazakh versions of OCHERK ISTORII KAZAKHSKOY SOVETSKOY LITERATURY, AN/Kaz. SSR (Alma-Ata, 1958), the Kazakh edition of which was reviewed in PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1958, No.7. In the Kazakh edition the article on M. Auezov omitted all this author's work written during the 'twenties except KARASH-KARASH (which is favourably regarded by Soviet critics). The Russian edition has expanded its account to include such suspect works as KARAKOZ (Black Eyes) and KIYLY ZAMAN (Difficult Times). M. Auezov is at present a highly favoured writer. His chronical-novel ABAY has been hailed as the supreme achievement of Kazakh prose (although when the novel first appeared Auezov was criticized for idealizing the feudal system of the past and minimizing the class contradictions of the pre-revolutionary aul. See CAR, Vol.I, No.1, p.79, and Vol.II, No.3, pp.355-6). It is a fair supposition that his earlier works were left out of account in the earlier (Kazakh) edition because the authors of the chapter were not sure what their attitude towards them should be. (This book gives other examples of the flexibility of critics. For example, in the Kazakh edition G. Mustafin in his novel KARAGANDA was said ". . . not [to have] succeeded in creating large-scale, memorable images of Russian people". This statement was criticized as needing support. The Russian edition on this point reads: "the novel's distinction is in its images of Russian and Ukrainian workers".)

A further possible reason for the omission of the early work of some writers is given by Mukhitdinov in his speech at the First Congress of the Intelligentsia of Uzbekistan, on the 11th October 1956. He noted that critics were avoiding the period 1905-17 "through a fear of permitting some mistakes in their evaluation of dzhadidism (jadidism) to which even some progressive Uzbek writers and poets at times adhered", and were so shy of the 'twenties that one received the impression that the only writer active then was Khamza. The time had come to investigate the cases of certain writers and poets whose works had been suppressed but who, although they may have committed mistakes, were not hostile to either Party or people. As an example he names Abdulla Kadyri (Dzhulkunbay).

Kadyri was suppressed in the late 'thirties because of nationalist tendencies (although the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia 1st ed., 1937, writes of him:

"Kadyri's work has been influenced by nationalist tendencies from which the writer has freed himself during recent years"). Certain critics evidently assumed from Mukhitdinov's words and other similar indications that the way was clear for a denial of the existence of nationalism in the 'thirties. These critics came in for reproof after Khrushchev's thesis on the connection between literature and art and the life of the people (May 1957). By then they had obviously gone too far in the direction indicated by Mukhitdinov and in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA of the 29th July 1958 Izzat Sultanov redressed the balance. While it was quite correct, he said, that Kadyri should have been rehabilitated, his rehabilitation and that of Fitrat (Abdul Rauf) and Chulpan (whose fate appears to have been the same as that of Kadyri), should not give rise to any doubt whether there had been such a thing as nationalism at all. The rehabilitation of these writers was justified not because there was no nationalism in the 'thirties, but because by that time they had abandoned their former nationalist standpoint.

These particular evolutions took place during the "thaw" and so to a certain extent represent a special case. However the difficulty, which they illustrate, of foretelling correctly the Party line is a constant one, and it is this difficulty which explains the critic's caution and preference for tried cliches. And yet it is this caution and unwillingness to speak except in commonplaces which attracts criticism from the Party and from fellow-writers.

### Ideological considerations

The period under consideration begins approximately with N.S. Khrushchev's paper "The Connection between Literature and Art and the Life of the People" (11th May 1957) in which he criticized Dudintsev and others for writing and M. Aliger for publishing works which distorted Soviet actuality and showed it in a bad light. Khrushchev devoted one paragraph to two films (CAVALIER OF THE GOLD STAR and KUBAN' COSSACKS) which exemplified the other extreme and showed Soviet actuality in too favourable a light. In fact no Central Asian writer has been criticized on this ground. In this paper Khrushchev reaffirmed complete ultimate Party control over works of art. His words were echoed in all the republics of Central Asia, but most graphically by M. Tursun-zade, President of the Tadzhik Writers' Union. In June 1957 (12) he stated that advanced writers had always served the Party and were still in the vanguard of the battle for peace, technical progress and the fulfilment of all the decisions of the Party and Government. He ended with the threat not to coddle (nyanchit'sya) writers who lacked Party spirit (partynost'). "We will obtain from them. . . truthful works which will help the Party to carry on the battle for our just cause." In September of the same year (13) he explained that present criticisms did not mean that writers should ignore the seamy side of Soviet life. Life must be reflected in all its fullness, but reflected so that the result should be an affirmation of what is new and advanced. In a similar context an Uzbek

writer quoted with approval Mayakovskiy's proud declaration in AT THE TOP OF MY VOICE that he was "called-up and mobilized by the Revolution". He did not go on to quote "I set my foot on the throat of my own song".(14)

In all republics also the criticism was made that the life of the people was more varied than was shown by Soviet literature. Writers were urged to go out among the people and study their life before writing about it, as B. Kerbabayev had studied the life of Turkmen oil-workers before writing NEBIT-DAG. The First Secretary of the Azerbaydzhani Central Committee, I.D. Mustafayev, however, made concrete suggestions for remedying the situation, at least as far as young writers were concerned. Young writers, he said (11), must "work in the corresponding industry or organization", that is to say (presumably) that if they want to write about an oilfield they must first work in one. This, Mustafayev went on, would give them discipline and a better knowledge of the life of the people. He remarked, however, that the young writers were not eager to follow his advice.

As a corollary of the criticism that present-day life was unsatisfactorily reflected in Soviet Central Asian literature came exhortations to writers to deal more with modern themes. In October 1957 S. Babayev, then the First Secretary of the Turkmen Central Committee, gave a specimen list of such themes; the images of the modern shepherd, milkmaid, swineherd and silk-cultivator and of the workers on the Karakum Canal.(15) Strangely enough this theme was most emphasized this year in Kazakhstan, in spite of the fact that the greatest Kazakh literary success of recent years has been M. Auezov's historical novel ABAY. Urged, perhaps, by a message from the Kazakh Central Committee which noted the undesirable fact that modern themes are rare in Kazakh Soviet literature, G. Musrepov, President of the Writers' Union, said in his report to the Fourth Writers' Congress that there must be a return to modern themes. The rot had set in, he said, with S. Mukanov's SULU SHASH (Pretty Hair) (approximately 1928) which dealt with the position of women in a feudal and patriarchal society, and Kazakh literature had followed his "infectious example" through inertia ever since. He himself and M. Auezov were also to blame. Nevertheless the young people should know the history of their country, of the battle of the workers for liberation, the heroic history of the Communist Party. Consequently Kazakh writers, while turning towards modern themes, must continue to give a reflection of the revolutionary past of each people.

It is not surprising that this confused and self-contradictory exposition came in for criticism from S. Mukanov (M. Auezov did not speak). Mukanov claimed that anything, old or new, connected with revolutionary transformations and socialist construction was "modern". Kazakh authors had the right to write about Chokan Valikhanov (as Mukanov himself has done, in a play) or Ibray Altynsaryn on the same artistic level as that on which Auezov had written about Abay. Musrepov's thesis was reaffirmed, however, by Dzhandil'din, a Secretary of the Central Committee.(16)

While the above criticisms apply equally to all republics, in three - Kazakhstan, Kirgizia and Tadzhikistan - there was specific criticism of individual writers for having "distorted Soviet actuality".

In the Party magazine PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, (17) Sabit Mukanov's novel THE ROLLING STEPPE published in SOVETSKIY KAZAKHSTAN, 1957, Nos.1-3 (i.e. before Khrushchev's paper) was severely criticized on this ground. The editorial board of SOVETSKIY KAZAKHSTAN was censured for allowing publication and Mukanov was directed to rewrite the novel. The subject of the novel is the development of the Virgin Lands. The following details will give some indication of the reasons for its suppression. One of the main characters Amandykov, an old Bolshevik, former member of the Cheka, OGPU and MVD and at the time of the novel an oblast First Secretary, had, while combatting nationalism in the 'thirties, himself become infected by it, so that he resented the organized transfer of people from other republics into Kazakhstan. His wife is bribed to influence him to send an unpopular (because too communist) member of his staff into a distant rayon. Amandykov does this. The volunteers from the other republics who have come to develop the Virgin Lands are portrayed as hooligans and drunkards, even as newly-released convicts; (the following sample of conversation is quoted: "What did you do time for?" - "Nothing really. I killed the wrong man." - "Ah, I understand.") Early this year (23) Mukanov was reported still to be at work on THE ROLLING STEPPE "which is dedicated to the self-denying labour of young patriots".

In Kirgizia in September 1957 (18) three writers were named as guilty of "crude naturalism" and as having distorted Soviet life. M. Aksakov (THREE IN THE STEPPE and THE GOLD WATCH); Ye. Kovskiy (WOLF); N. Baytemirov (THE SAVAGE). Aksakov made a public confession of penitence, but Kovskiy, who was said to be completely divorced from life, appears not to have spoken. Criticized less severely were T. Umetaliyev, S. Shimeyev, Abdumomunov and K. Dzhantoshev. (19)

Criticism in Tadzhikistan centred on Ye. Lopatina, M. Fofanova and G. Mirzo(yev). (12) It was these writers whom Tursun-zade promised not to coddle (see above). They were criticized again at an open meeting of the Tadzhik Writers' Union three months later. (20) On this occasion it was revealed that Mirzo(yev) had written a poem, FAGFUR, on the "resettling of the mountaineers in the fertile valleys". Fofanova made a public confession of guilt and apology. Lopatina made a fighting speech in which she berated critics for unhelpfulness and expressed her pride in being a Soviet citizen, but in which she made no formal apology. Mirzo(yev) held out until November (9) when, at a meeting called by the Tadzhik Central Committee, he was reminded that he had "cast doubt on the acts carried out by the Party and Government in the interests of the republic's economy". He also made a public apology and promised to do better in the future.

It should not be thought, however, that Central Asian writers were not

also praised on ideological grounds. Auezov's ABAY, Kerbabayev's THE DECISIVE STEP (see CAR, Vol.III, No.3) and NEBIT-DAG, Musrepov's AWAKENED COUNTRY and others were frequently praised, both on technical and on ideological grounds (although ABAY has also been criticized; see above). Mingled sparingly with the criticism there was even praise of young writers. In Turkmenistan they had chosen as their subjects "the growth of the prosperity and culture of the people. . . the love (of our young people) for their socialist fatherland and the Communist Party", they also earned praise for their creative fervour and clearness of purpose.(2) In Azerbaydzhan M. Ibragimov, M. Guseyn, I. Shikhly, I. Guseynov and S. Kadyrzade are praised in general terms as promising young writers.(21)

There is no ideological crisis in Central Asian literature. At the height of the "thaw" period three republics were significantly affected ideologically (and in one other - Uzbekistan - certain young writers suffered "a loss of assurance"(22)), none of the writers involved appears still to be resisting criticism. The crisis appears rather to lie in the low level of technical skill of many writers, chiefly the young, with all the implications of such a state of affairs for the future.

#### Notes

- |      |   |             |
|------|---|-------------|
| (1)  | LITERATURNAYA GAZETA,                     | 27.12.56    |
| (2)  | TI.                                       | 5. 7.57     |
| (3)  | SK.                                       | 21. 2.57    |
| (4)  | BR.                                       | 30.11.58    |
| (5)  | Ibid.,                                    | 5.12.58     |
| (6)  | Ibid.,                                    | 8.12.58     |
| (7)  | LITERATURNAYA GAZETA,                     | 26. 4.58    |
| (8)  | KT.                                       | 6. 6.57     |
| (9)  | Ibid.,                                    | 15.11.57    |
| (10) | ZVEZDA VOSTOKA, 1958, No.12               |             |
| (11) | BR.                                       | 9.12.58     |
| (12) | KT.                                       | 21. 6.57    |
| (13) | Ibid.,                                    | 28. 8.57    |
| (14) | PV.                                       | 24.10.57    |
| (15) | TI.                                       | 31.10.57    |
| (16) | KP.                                       | 10-12. 3.59 |
| (17) | PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1958, No.1 |             |
| (18) | SK.                                       | 26. 9.57    |
| (19) | Ibid.,                                    | 20.11.57    |
| (20) | KT.                                       | 28. 9.57    |
| (21) | BR.                                       | 4.12.58     |
| (22) | PV.                                       | 16.10.57    |
| (23) | KP.                                       | 15. 2.59    |

## SAVINGS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

The material to be found in the Central Asian press on this subject falls into four main categories: lotteries, State loans, savings banks, and social security.

It has proved impossible to include fire, life and accident insurance in the survey as the only sources available are textbooks which deal more with the principles of rating than with insurance practice, while the material in the Central Asian press is limited to advertisements. As no information is available, therefore, on the modifications caused in the practice of these branches of insurance by specifically Central Asian conditions, it was decided to exclude them.

The sources used are the Central Asian press, to which references are given in the text, and the following books:

RASKHODY NA SOTSIAL'NO-KUL'TURNYYE MEROPRIYATIYA PO GOSUDARSTVENNOMU BYUDZHETU SSSR: STATISTICHESKIY SBORNIK, Moscow, 1958 (referred to as RASKHODY); NARODNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO KAZ. SSR, Alma-Ata, 1957 (referred to as NKkKAZ); NARODNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO KIRGIZSKOY SSR, Frunze, 1957 (referred to as NKkKIRG).

The intention is to use the material to illustrate the growth in the standard of living in the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan in the period covered - roughly 1956-8.

. . .

I. Lotteries (Loterei)

The lotteries are regarded officially mainly as a means of contributing money to the State in order to raise the standard of living, and only secondarily as an opportunity for ordinary citizens to enrich themselves, and the publicity of lotteries dwells mainly on the former aspect. Nevertheless the prizes, which absorb 40 per cent of the income of the lottery, are considerable and range from Volga and Moskvich cars (value 40,000 and 15,000 rubles respectively) to small alarm clocks at 75 rubles. Money prizes range from 5,000 to 20 rubles. (KP. 7. 5.58.)

It is not without interest to note that the Minister of Finance of Uzbekistan, V. Muratkhodzhayev, thought it necessary to stress in PV. 28. 2.58 that lottery tickets must be bought voluntarily: it is forbidden to force

people to buy, or to stop money out of employees' pay packets and make up the difference with lottery tickets. This suggests that there had been in the past some degree of "consumer resistance" to the lotteries. Nevertheless, in Kazakhstan (KP. 13. 9.58) the opening of the second lottery of the year was announced by Atambayev the Minister of Finance in response to public demand. During the first lottery, in the first quarter of the year, 45m. rubles worth of tickets had been sold. By March 1958 in Turkmenistan 2,185,000 rubles worth of tickets had been sold. (TI. 12. 4.58.)

This all suggests that people have more money to spare for luxuries.

## II. State Loans (Gosudarstvennyye zaymy)

State loans in the Soviet Union draw their income from the profits of State enterprises, savings banks' deposits (see "Savings Banks" below) and from the investment of private citizens. The current loan is the freely convertible State Interior 3 per cent Lottery Loan. The issue of further "subscription loans", (zaymy, rasprostranyayemye po podpiske sredi naseleniya) i.e. compulsory mass loans, was stopped on the 19th April 1957 by a resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU and of the Council of Ministers. Simultaneously, the lotteries on current loans of this type were stopped and the date by which the bonds of current loans may be redeemed was postponed to 1977. From that date they are to be redeemed gradually over a period of 20 years. The State Interior 3 per cent Lottery Loan was explicitly excluded from this resolution. In fact the State defaulted on its obligations in respect of these loans.

The principle of the Lottery Loan is similar to that of the British Premium Bonds. All bonds take part in lotteries held at regular intervals throughout the year. A winning bond is cancelled (pogashayetsya) and consequently takes no part in further draws. It is calculated that one out of every four bonds purchased wins a prize. As in the case of the British Premium Bonds the prizes are sums of money. Interest is paid on the bonds at the rate of three per cent per year. According to the GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, Vol.16, the bonds "are freely bought and sold by savings banks".

Like the lotteries, the State Loans are primarily represented as "investment in the future". Full use is made in the publicity of the role played by the loans in the economy of the country. However, stress is also laid on the prizes that may be won and on the fact that "50 per cent of the sum placed by State savings banks in the State Loan out of the increase in their residue of deposits in 1958, and of the sum invested in 1958 in the State 3 per cent Interior Lottery Loan" (VVS. 1957, No.28) is assigned to the budgets of the various Union republics and is thereby devoted "to the further development of the national economy, to social and cultural aims and to an increase in the material prosperity of the workers" (PV. 5. 8.56). The remaining 50 per cent is (presumably) assigned to the Union budget. So Kh. Gafurov, Deputy Minister



of Finance of Uzbekistan, wrote that during the Fourth Five-Year Plan Uzbekistan received in prizes 551m. rubles and during the Fifth Five-Year Plan 1,300m. rubles. (PV. 5. 8.56.)

The Minister of Finance of Uzbekistan, Muratkhodzhayev, wrote in PV. 28. 2.58, that during the past five years more than 208m. rubles worth of bonds had been sold in the republic. As a result the Ministry of Finance of the USSR had been authorized to issue in 1958 an extra 2,000m. rubles worth, not 1,000m. as normally (presumably for the whole Soviet Union).

In Turkmenistan (TI. 8. 5.56) bond holders had received in prizes during the first four months of 1956, 26,093,000 rubles - 3,119,000 rubles more than in the same period of 1955. By the 1st October 1958, 6,400,000 rubles worth of bonds had been sold - almost 1,500,000 rubles more than by the 1st October 1957.

In Kazakhstan (KP. 9. 5.56) in the first five months of 1956 more than 112m. rubles had been paid in prizes - 15m. rubles more than in the same period of 1955.

### III. Savings Banks (Sberegatel'nyye kassy)

Rights of personal property in deposits in Soviet savings banks are guaranteed to depositors by law, according to Article 10 of the Constitution of the USSR. The sums deposited, with the exception of an essential reserve left in the banks to carry on day-to-day operations and of sums which must be no lower than three per cent of the total residue of deposits and which are kept on an account in the Gosbank of the USSR, are contributed to the State Loan. Interest is paid on deposits at the rates of two per cent per year on current accounts and three per cent on deposit accounts (srochnyye vklady). There are also lottery accounts in which the interest goes to make up money prizes which are distributed by means of a raffle.

There appear to be no controls on withdrawals. The depositor has the right to receive his deposit in part or in a lump sum as he wishes.

The statistics available on savings banks cover the number of banks, the number of depositors, the total sum deposited during a given period, and the total sum in the banks at the end of a given period after withdrawals have been subtracted from deposits (the Russian for this is ostatok vkladov, here translated as "residue of deposits").

In NKChKAZ., p.353, the number of accounts for the years 1951-6 is given as follows (in thousands):

1951	-	484.8	1954	-	799.9
1952	-	561.0	1955	-	966.6
1953	-	707.5	1956	-	1094.8

The number of deposits between 1951-5 had almost doubled. In KP. 7. 4.56, however, it is stated that over this period the number of accounts had increased 3.9 times. The same article goes on to complain that the banks are slow, inaccurate, and often unsuitably housed. In the Gur'yev, Alma-Ata, West-Kazakhstan and Kzyl-Orda oblasts the number of banks was too low and had hardly increased over the past few years.

During 1956 (KP. 14. 4.57) the residue of deposits in Kazakhstan increased by 335.8m. rubles. (NKhKAZ gives the figure for 1955 as 1,253.9, and for 1956 as 1,577.5, an increase of 323.6m. rubles.) According to the same article the residue of deposits increased during the first four months of 1957 by a further 346.8m. rubles, 291m. more than in the corresponding period of 1956.

By June of the same year (KP.17. 8.57) the sum of deposits (it is not clear whether this means the residue of deposits or not) had increased by comparison with the same period of 1956 by 429m. rubles and the number of depositors by 154,800. This brought the total of depositors to 1,250,000 with a total sum deposited of 2,015,564,000 rubles. By January 1958 (KP. 10. 1.58), however, the number of depositors had fallen to 1,094,000, although the total sum deposited had slightly increased to 2,200m. rubles. The average size of an account was given as 1,654 rubles - six times as high as in 1940. NKhKAZ gives the average deposit in 1940 as 260 rubles. In 1958, therefore, the average deposit had increased by over seven times. Another slight discrepancy is found when one multiplies the number of depositors by the average deposit: the result is 1,809,476,000 rubles, not 2,200m. rubles as given above. The residue of deposits increased in 1957 by 610m. rubles, double the increase in 1956. This agrees with NKhKAZ which gives the total for 1956 as 1,577.5 - 622.5 rubles below 2,200m. rubles. In 1956, according to NKhKAZ, the residue of deposits increased from 1,253.9 to 1,577.5 - 323.6m. rubles.

In KP. of 5. 2.58, the Kazakh Minister of Finance Atambayev gives slightly different figures as referring to the "present time":

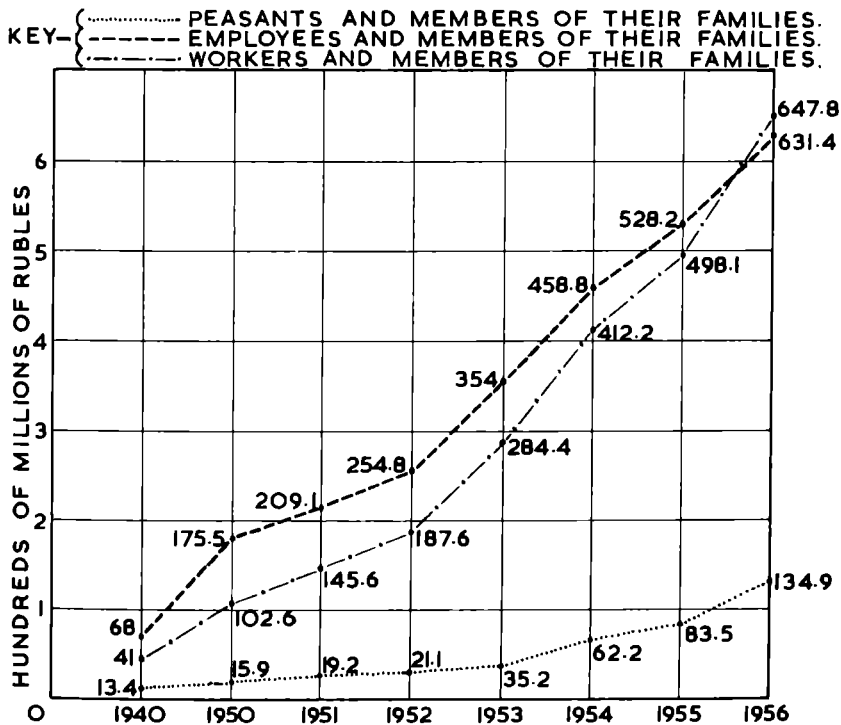
Total deposits	-	2,197m. rubles
Total depositors	-	1,328,000

His other statistics agree with those given in KP. of 10. 1.58.

The total number of banks in Kazakhstan in 1956 is given in KP. of 7. 4.56 as 2,000, of which 376 had been opened in 1955. The figures in NKhKAZ are only slightly different - 2,097 at the end of 1955, of which 369 had been opened during the year. Presumably the 97 new banks had been opened during the first

three months of 1956. In 1956, 126 new banks were opened (KP. 14. 4.57), and 102 new banks in 1957 (KP. 10. 1.58). This gives an increase of 228 over the 1955 total of 2,000. The actual total for 1957, however, is given as 2,312.

NKhKAZ gives statistics showing how the total amount deposited is split up between four sections of the community - peasants, workers, employees (white-collar workers), and those not claiming to belong to any of these three classes. In the following graph the fourth category has been omitted.



The figures shown in the graph have obviously been influenced in the last year (1955-6) by the influx of population to the Virgin Lands. The majority of these people work on sovkhoses and consequently are classed as workers. It is to this that we may attribute, at least in part, the sharp rise in the workers' graph in 1956.

Figures for Uzbekistan covering the whole republic are rarer. In PV. of 28. 2.58 the Minister of Finances writes that at the end of 1957 the savings banks of the republic contained 1,530m. rubles, more than double the total for 1954. In January alone 46.8m. rubles had been deposited. For the rest the only figures available are for a few individual rayons, and all show considerable increases.

In Turkmenistan information is available only for the oblasts of Tashauz (TI. 15.11.56, 9. 5.58) and Chardzhou (Khodzhambas rayon) (TI. 9. 5.58). The figures show large increases between 1956-8 in both savings bank deposits and depositors.

The only information for Kirgizia is contained in the statistical collection NKhKIRG and may best be reproduced in tabular form:

	<u>1941</u>	<u>1946</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1956</u>
<u>Total deposits in savings banks</u> (millions of rubles)	34.8	38.9	87.0	300.0
<u>Number of accounts</u> (thousands)	91.7	36.4	90.1	191.1
<u>Average size of an account</u> (in rubles)	379	1069	966	1570
<u>Total number of savings banks</u>	320	257	315	359

It is noteworthy that in 1946, when both the number of accounts and the number of banks had fallen sharply from the 1941 level and the total deposits had barely increased, the average size of an account was almost tripled.

It is necessary to stress that an increase in savings bank deposits is a limited guide to prosperity. Such an increase may also be due, for example, to a change in the public attitude to keeping money in a governmental institution and to an increase in the number and availability of branch savings banks. The total number of savings banks has in fact been increasing, and this is bound to have had its effect.

#### IV. Social Security (Sotsial'noye obespecheniye)

All the material under this heading in the Central Asian Press refers to the new State Pensions Law of 14th July 1956, which came into effect on the 1st October 1956. Pensions are non-contributory, and the following information is essential for an understanding of the material.

A. The following categories are entitled to pensions:

- (1) Workers and employees; (2) servicemen; (3) students; (4) other citizens who have been incapacitated during the fulfilment of State or social duties; (5) members of the families of citizens in these categories in the case of the loss of the bread-winner.

B. Pensions are paid on the following grounds:

- (1) Old age; (2) disability (invalidnost'); (3) to dependents left without support.

C. Old age pensions become payable:

- (1) To men of 60 who have worked no less than 25 years; (2) to women of 55 who have worked no less than 20 years.

The old age pension may in no case be less than 300 rubles per month or more than 1,200 rubles per month. Within these limits the pension may be from 50 to 100 per cent of the actual average monthly wage.

D. Disability pensions are estimated according to the degree of disability. Pensioners are assigned to Groups I, II, or III by medical boards (Vrachebno-trudovyye ekspertnyye komissii (VTEK)). Disability pensions are from 45 to 100 per cent of the average monthly wage.

The effect of the new law was to extend the pensions scheme to categories A. (3), (4) and (5) above and to reduce the differential between the extremes of the former scale by imposing an upper and a lower limit. It is claimed in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Vol.51, article "Law on State Pensions", that this law has increased the average disability pension by 50-65 per cent and the average old age pension by 90 per cent.

Collective farm workers, as before, receive their old age and disability pensions either from the funds which are by law formed within the kolkhozes from their income (which, presumably, means that the richer kolkhozes are able to pay higher pensions) or from the Kolkhoz Mutual Aid Banks (Kolkhoznyye kassy vzaimopomoshchi) which all collective farmers are eligible to

join. TI. 14.10.56 reports that in the Ashkhabad oblast of Turkmenistan there are 111 such banks which have issued approximately 170,000 rubles, during what period is not stated. Kolkhoz managements, however, are under strong moral pressure to increase their scale of pensions in order to keep pace with the State increases. It must not be forgotten also that retired collective farmers do not depend entirely on their pensions in order to live. They still have their private plots of land.

There follow some details of increases in kolkhoz pensions.

In Kirgizia (SK. 20. 9.56) in the Molotov kolkhoz, Petrovskiy rayon, Frunze oblast old reeple receive an allowance monthly from the kolkhoz management. For example, an invalid who has worked 20 years receives per month 30 kilos of wheat, and 10 centners of hay and 5 of straw for his animals.

In the Hammer and Sickle kolkhoz, Kalinin rayon, Frunze oblast (SK. 30.11.56), pensioners receive the same as the other members of the kolkhoz - 4 kilos of grain and 3 rubles cash, presumably (although this is not explicitly stated) per workday (trudoden'). The number of workdays allotted them as pension is not stated.

In the Lenin kolkhoz, Suzak rayon, Dzhahalal-Abad oblast (SK. 30. 6.57), 38 people receive personal pensions according to the decision of the kolkhoz management. Two people are mentioned as receiving 150 rubles cash and 30 kilos of wheat and vegetables per month. In the first five months of 1957 the aged and disabled received from the kolkhoz 18,800 rubles and 710 kilos of wheat. They had also been helped to acquire farm animals. Of 20 two-room houses which had been built, 10 were to be given to pensioners.

In the Komintern kolkhoz, Petrovskiy rayon, Frunze oblast (SK. 17. 1.58), three men aged over 60 who still work have been awarded pensions of 120 workdays over and above the 300-450 workdays they receive for their work.

The fullest account available, however, of the pensions arrangements in a Kirgiz kolkhoz appears in SK. of 2. 10.58. In the Kalinin kolkhoz, Voroshilov rayon, Frunze oblast, during 1957 income totalled 4m. rubles. Each of the kolkhozes 767 members worked on an average 456 workdays. The value of a workday was one kilo of grain and 7.45 rubles, or in cash 10.18 rubles. 11,200 workdays were assigned for pensions to the 120 pensioners.

The method of assigning pensions was modelled on that of the State. The applicant's working life (rabochiy stazh), earnings for the last 3-5 years of his working life and the number of his dependents were determined by a committee of collective farmers, his degree of disability (if any) was ascertained by a VTEK and, finally, his pension was agreed by a general meeting of kolkhoz members and management.

In Tadzhikistan (KT. 1. 8.56) in the Lenin kolkhoz, Stalinabad rayon, a new pensions' scheme was adopted. Pensions were to be paid for illness, disability and old age. Pensioners would receive from 12 to 15 workdays per month depending upon the length of their working life.

In the Moscow kolkhoz, Oktyabr'sk rayon (SK. 11. 8.56) men over 60 and women over 55 who have worked in the kolkhoz for more than 15 years are to receive 300 rubles per month pension. 90,000 rubles have been assigned for pensions for 1956. In the Stalin kolkhoz, Ordzhonikidze rayon (SK. 19. 5.57), 105,000 rubles are to be paid in pensions in 1957 as against 27,000 rubles in 1956. A fund of 32 tons of grain has been created for pensions paid in kind. The newspaper report adds that the example of this kolkhoz should be more widely known.

For very many people, apart from the collective farmers, the new pensions law meant that their pensions would increase, or that they would begin to receive pensions where formerly they had been ineligible. Eligibility had to be proved, however, as pensions depended either on length of working life and average earnings, or on degree of disability. The amount of paper work facing social security organs was so great that they had to hire extra labour, a large proportion of which was unskilled. In many cases there were insufficient doctors to serve the VTEK's. These difficulties and the fact that only two and a half months were allowed in which to prepare for the new law led to a partial breakdown of the organization. Some pensioners were overpaid, others underpaid and yet others were not paid at all. This state of affairs facilitated fraud. In KP. 11. 4.58 it was reported that various doctors in Alma-Ata, who were all fit enough to work from 12 to 17 hours per day on VTEK's, were receiving invalids' pensions and that there were 20 such doctors in Polyclinic No.1. The VTEK Control Commission, which should check such abuses, was itself implicated. Its head, Vinokurov, had received 1,600 rubles sick pay (on the authority of a medical certificate from Polyclinic No.1) for a period when he had been at work. His deputy, Marochneva, was being paid for 27 hours work per day.

The majority of newspaper articles deal in whole or in part with such complaints which can be taken as being representative of all the Central Asian Republics. There is also a certain amount of information at republican, oblast and rayon level of sums being or about to be spent on social security and a few examples of increases in individual pensions. RASKHODY (p.78) gives total expenditure on social security in the republican budgets. These figures are not the sum received in pensions in the various republics. The reasons for this are, presumably, that the pensions received in any one republic come from different sources and that the total expenditure contains overhead costs (salaries etc.) as well as sums paid in pensions. The increases in these figures do, however, reflect the increase in pensions in the various republics.

In 1957 (KP. 16.10.56) the sum spent on pensions in Kazakhstan increased

from 70m. rubles to 119m. rubles. (RASKHODY: 1956 - 426.9m. rubles; 1957 - 844.1m. rubles.) In the Semipalatinsk oblast in 1957 (KP. 8. 1.58) the sum spent on pensions increased by approximately 3m. from 5,167,200 rubles.

In Turkmenistan (TI. 29. 8.56) before the new law 110m. rubles were paid in pensions annually. Under the new law this sum was to increase to 190m. rubles. In TI. of 3.12.57, however, figures for pensions are given as:

1940	-	7.4m. rubles
1956	-	140 m. rubles
1957	-	250 m. rubles

(RASKHODY: 1956 - 57.7m. rubles; 1957 - 110m. rubles.)

KT. of 23.10.57 gives the sum assigned to Tadzhikistan for 1956 under the new law as 96m. rubles, and for 1957 as 193m. rubles. In 1957 also, 1.9m. rubles was to be spent on artificial limbs, teeth etc. (protezy), and 6m. rubles on homes for invalids. (RASKHODY: 1956 - 49.2m. rubles; 1957 - 89.4m. rubles.) Yet a fourth set of figures is given in KT. 31.10.58 where it is stated that the new law has increased the annual sum spent on pensions in Tadzhikistan from 95m. rubles (presumably the sum for 1956) to 220m. rubles.

About Kirgizia as a whole there is a report in SK. of 22. 8.58 on the meetings held in the Supreme Soviet of the Republic to consider the application of the law. Appropriations of State funds for social insurance had greatly increased. Republican appropriations for 1957 totalled 138m. rubles (which agrees with the figure given in RASKHODY) while the total expended in pensions in 1957 was 258m. rubles as compared with 120m. rubles in 1955. Disability pensions paid out of the Republican budget totalled 122m. rubles in 1957 as against 41m. rubles in 1955. There is some information also about the law's effect at oblast and rayon level. In the Tyan'-Shan' oblast (SK. 25. 9.56) its effect has been to increase some pensions from 150 rubles to 1,200 rubles (an extreme case). In the Proletarskiy rayon of Frunze 1.1m. rubles per month will be paid in pensions, almost double the former total.

In Uzbekistan, according to RASKHODY, the expenditure from the Republican budget totalled in 1956, 220.8m. rubles and in 1957, 457.9m. rubles. In FV. of 9. 2.58 it is stated that the budget for 1958 will be 121m. rubles higher than in 1957. In Uzbekistan alone more than 500,000 cases had been reviewed. (FV. 22.12.56.) Previous to the new law the pensioners of the Central rayon of Tashkent had received 1.2m. rubles per month; this sum would be more than doubled. Individual examples of pensions include a school-teacher who, together with his wife, will receive 1,000 rubles per month, and a painter and decorator whose pension will increase five times. What he had been receiving previously is not stated, but, since his pension could not increase to more than 1,200 rubles (if it was an old age pension), it could not have been more than 240 rubles per month.



The purpose of compiling the above information is, as already stated, to use it to demonstrate a rise in the standard of living in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. It seems undeniable that the information does illustrate such a rise. It is, unfortunately, more difficult to decide how great this rise is and what level the standard of living has now reached. It is not known how representative the figures are, or how fair is the picture they give. To take only the example of collective farm pensions, it is obvious from the tone of the publicity that its aim is to encourage more collective farms to increase their pensions, and it is clear from several references that only the best examples are quoted. How high the level of pensions in the other farms is, or how numerous these other farms are is also not known. Finally, the scope of the present account is too restricted for it to give in itself a complete picture of the standard of living in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Such questions as wages, the availability and cost of consumer goods etc. have also to be considered. It is hoped, however, that the information contained in the present account can be used in the creation of such a complete picture.

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#### The Karakum Canal

On the 28th January 1959 near Mary (the ancient Merv), Turkmenistan, the Karakum Canal joined the River Murgab, thus connecting the rivers Murgab and Amu-Dar'ya. At that date the canal was approximately 400 kilometres in length. (See also CAR, Vol.II, No.3, pp.255-62, Vol.V, No.3, pp.277-8.)

SK., TI. 30.1.59

## NEWS DIGEST

The following items are taken from newspapers and periodicals received during the period 1st April - 30th June 1959. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

## ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES

Administrative changesKirgizia

P. Ye. Vakulov appointed a Secretary and member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirgizia. SK. 27. 5.59

Kazakhstan

G. A. Kozlov appointed Secretary and member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party in place of G. A. Mel'nik (who was recently appointed Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers. CAR, VII, 2, p.154). KP. 29. 4.59

Territorial changesAzerbaydzhan

To commemorate the 400th anniversary of the death of the poet Mukhammed Fizuli (Muhammad Fuzuli), by decree of 2nd April 1959 the town of Karyagino has been renamed Fizuli. VVS. 16. 4.59

Turkmenistan

By decree of 25th May 1959 the Ashkhabad oblast has been abolished, the Tedzhen, Kirovsk and Serakhs rayons being transferred to the Mary oblast. The remaining rayons and towns are being subordinated directly to republican organs of control. VVS. 11. 6.59

Kazakhstan

By decree of 9th May 1959 the Beskaragay rayon has been transferred from the Pavlodar to the Semipalatinsk oblast. VVS. 28. 5.59

By decree of 6th June 1959 the Taldy-Kurgan oblast has been abolished, its territory becoming part of the Alma-Ata oblast. VVS. 18. 6.59

## THE ARTS

The Second Azerbaydzhani Ten-Day Festival of Art and Literature

The festival was held in Moscow between 22nd May and 2nd June 1959. The first festival, held in 1938, had been narrower in scope - in particular literature was hardly represented. The present festival was fully comparable with any of the other dekady held recently in Moscow. The Akhundov Opera and Ballet Theatre, the Azizbekov Dramatic Theatre, the Samed Vurgun Russian Dramatic Theatre, the State Symphony Orchestra, State Concert Orchestra and the Orchestra of Folk Instruments took part, together with the best amateur groups. More than 800 paintings, drawings and pieces of sculpture were exhibited. There were also exhibitions devoted to the history and architecture of Azerbaydzhan.

Reports in the press, both republican and Union, indicate that the festival enjoyed considerable success, especially the theatrical and musical sections. Doubts were expressed, however, about the quality of Azerbaydzhani literature. In LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 26. 5.59, Yu. Surovtsev noted that even the best writers, such as Mekhti Guseyn in BLACK CLIFFS and M. Ibragimov in THE MERGING OF THE WATERS, were inclined to pay too little attention to questions of psychology and motivation. This point was taken up later during discussions between Russian and Azerbaydzhani writers. Some Russian writers, led by V. Dudintsev, criticized M. Ibragimov and others for lack of psychological depth. The majority, however, felt that psychological depth was not equally necessary for all authors, and V. Druzin went so far as to say that in his opinion Azerbaydzhani novels were by their nature novels of action, not of psychoanalysis.

BR. 17. 5.59, BR.& P. 21. 5. - 3. 6.59

## CONFERENCES

The Joint Scientific Session of the Academies of Sciences of the USSR, Central Asia and Kazakhstan on the progressive significance of the incorporation of Central Asia into Russia was held between the 26th and the 29th May 1959 in Tashkent. The present note will be restricted to the session itself and will deal only with points which were treated barely, if at all, in the preliminary publicity (see CAR, Vol.VII, No.2, pp.157-60).

The speech of Kh.A. Abdullayev, President of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences who opened the session gives a partial indication of the purpose of the meeting. After paying due tribute to Lenin's national policy Abdullayev went on to say that "a correct solution of the problem" of the progressive significance of the incorporation is to serve the interests of the "further strengthening of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism, of the friendship and unity of the peoples of our country", and said further: "Soviet historians and orient-  
alists must exert a powerful influence on the formation of a progressive viewpoint. Their researches must serve as the sharpest ideological weapon in the

fight against anti-scientific, anti-Marxist concepts. Falsifiers of history and revisionists, the various types of underling of the imperialists and colonizers will find in the works of Soviet scientists a fitting rebuff and annihilating criticism."

Some indication of the type of "falsification" of Soviet history intended to be understood was given by Sh. Tashliyev who in his paper attacked the concept of a "Turkestan nation" of Muslims, with a single language - Turki. Proletarian internationalism is equally opposed both to artificial division and to artificial unification of nations. The latter is "equivalent to the enforced subjection of one people to another". Any attempt at the formation of a unified state of Turkestan would be such an artificial unification. [It is noteworthy that this point is touched on in KOMMUNIST TURKMENISTANA, 1959, No.5, where Baymirza Hayit's book TURKESTAN IM XX. JAHRHUNDERT, Darmstadt, 1956, is reviewed. Here also the unity of the Central Asian Turkic languages and peoples is denied and the friendship of the peoples of Central Asia for the Russian people is affirmed. - Ed. CAR.] Both Tashliyev and I.I. Mints referred to "bourgeois historians" who were trying to prove that Soviet national policy is a continuation of that of tsarism. In this connection Tashliyev referred specifically to the Central Asian Research Centre (Moscow Radio, 26. 5.59). [In PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1959, No.6, also in an article, "Pravda sil'neye lzhi", among other institutions and periodicals this Centre and CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW are subjected to violent criticism for "distorting the facts" of the history of Central Asia and similar crimes. - Ed. CAR.]

On the question of the attitude of the peoples of Turkestan to their incorporation opinions at the session differed. On the one hand A. Pyaskovskiy wrote before the session that not all the peoples of Central Asia welcomed the incorporation, nor was the resistance to conquest limited to the ruling class. On the other hand S. Radzhabov said in his paper that the popular masses in Central Asia expected the incorporation to bring them relief from the rule of their feudal tyrants, "only individual groups of local rulers and of the reactionary Muslim clergy, intent on preserving intact the old feudal ways and their own despotic power, organized resistance and raised up isolated anti-Russian revolts". In the debate towards the end of the session he returned to the point saying: "There must be a wider treatment, in the light of historical facts now at hand, of the question of the desire of a number of Central Asian peoples voluntarily to assume Russian citizenship." In this he was supported by D. Dzhamgerchinov and A. Il'yasov who "showed by historical examples that in some cases the resistance shown by the local inhabitants to the seizure of Central Asia by Russia was organized by agents of British Imperialism".

Frequent reference was made to the example provided by Soviet Central Asia for the underdeveloped countries of the East in that it had achieved socialism while avoiding "the agonizing stage of capitalism". "The practice of the socialist republics of the Soviet Union has proved to the whole of mankind that colonial, dependent or underdeveloped countries, once they have overthrown the

rule of the imperialists, can by-pass the capitalist stage and, with the help of the socialist countries, can gradually make the transfer to socialism" (I.I. Mints). "Many former colonial peoples have already won their national independence. Colonialism is cracking at the seams. . . The peoples of the East are turning their gaze to the Soviet Union - their sincere friend" (A.A. Altmysbayev).

As the main theme of the session has been the friendship between the Central Asian and Russian peoples both before and after the Revolution it is perhaps unfortunate that six months earlier there had been published in Alma-Ata a collection of documents (SOVETSKOYE STROITEL'STVO V AULAKH I SELAKH SEMIRECH'YA. Pt.1, Alma-Ata, 1957) which indicates that in some cases the relationship was less than friendly. Document No.78 (from the resolution of the Xth Party Congress) speaks of colonization on the part of Russian settlers, and goes on to say, "the policy of tsarism. . . consisted in settling in these areas as many kulak elements from among the Russian peasants and Cossacks as possible. . ." Also published is a circular letter from the Central Committee to the Turkestan Party (16th January 1922) criticising local communists for allowing colonialist traits to appear in their work (Document No.125).

The session appears to have deviated little from the treatment given the problem in Prof. S. Radzhabov's book ROL' VELIKOGO RUSSKOGO NARODA V ISTORICHESKIKH SUD'BAKH NARODOV SREDNEY AZII, Tashkent, 1955. There is as yet insufficient evidence to say why the question has been resurrected at the present time, although Abdullayev's remarks and the references to "bourgeois historians" and their attempts to "falsify Soviet national policy" may be significant in this connection.

PV. 13. 5.59, PV. 27-30. 5.59

## GEOGRAPHY



The border between Europe and Asia is conventionally drawn along the Ural mountains (where it is marked by obelisks on the main railway lines), the river Ural and the Caucasus mountain range. In the latter area its position is uncertain; it is drawn sometimes along the main watershed, more rarely along the northern slope of the range, while in the BOL'SHOY SOVETSKIY ATLAS MIRA it coincides with the state boundary of the USSR. While such natural features are an obvious choice to mark the boundary, the resulting border does not indicate any difference in natural conditions and is inconvenient for cartographers and geologists in that it splits the Urals and the Caucasus, which form natural geographical units, each into two parts.

For these reasons, at a meeting in 1958 of the Moscow section of the All-Union Geographical Society, it was recommended that the border between Europe and Asia should be drawn along the eastern foot of the Urals, the Mugodzhar mountains, the Emba river, the north shore of the Caspian, the Kumo-Manych depression and the south coast of the Sea of Azov to the Kerch' straits (see map above reproduced from VOKRUG SVETA, 1959, No.4). Thus the Urals lie wholly in Europe and the Caucasus wholly in Asia. The Sea of Azov belongs to Europe. This boundary will be shown in all Soviet maps and geography textbooks.

VOKRUG SVETA, 1959, No.4

## PARTY CHANGES

Azerbaydzhan

It was announced in Baku on the 12th July that after a debate on the state of Party organization in the republic and on "shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Bureau of the Central Committee and of its First Secretary I.D. Mustafayev" a plenum of the Central Committee removed Mustafayev from his post on the grounds that he was "unable to cope with the work" (he has been First Secretary since 1954). His place was taken by V.Yu. Akhundov, former chairman of the Council of Ministers.

N.A. Mukhitdinov was present at the plenum and delivered a speech.

P. 13. 7.59

## POPULATION

The preliminary results of the 1959 census were published simultaneously in all republics on the 10th May 1959. The total population of the USSR on the 15th January 1959 was 208,826,000; in 1939 it had been 190,678,000. The figures for the six Muslim republics are given below. (The 1956 figures are the estimates published in NARODNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO SSSR, Moscow, 1956.)

	<u>1939</u>	<u>( 1956 )</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
Uzbekistan	6.3m.	( 7.3m. )	8.1m.	2.7m.	5.4m.
Kazakhstan	6.0	( 8.5 )	9.3	4.0	5.3
Azerbaydzhan	3.2	( 3.4 )	3.7	1.8	1.9
Kirgizia	1.4	( 1.9 )	2.0	0.7	1.3
Tadzhikistan	1.5	( 1.8 )	1.98	0.65	1.33
Turkmenistan	1.2	( 1.4 )	1.5	0.7	0.8

The data produced by the census are at present being passed through calculating machines in order to provide on a territorial basis the distribution of the population according to sex, age, nationality, language, education, schooling, family position, social grouping, means of support, branches of the national economy or of production (in which employed) and main occupations. P.10. 5.59

Out of a recent list of candidates elected to the Supreme Soviet of Kirgizia containing 300 names, 177 names were of non-natives (Russians and Ukrainians). The Kirgiz SSR contains Uzbeks, Uygurs, Dungans, Tatars, Tadzhiks and Kazakhs as well as Russians and Ukrainians. According to the GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA (2nd ed.) Vol.21, 1953, the Kirgiz made up 51.7 per cent of the total. SK. 3. 6.59

## RELIGION

The campaign against Seventh Day Adventists and Baptists (which continues in all republics) was noted in CAR, Vol.VII, No.2, p.162, where it was stated that only the non-Muslim sections of the population were affected. Recently, however, a report appeared in Azerbaydzhan of a member of the Muslim intelligentsia, lawyer Ali Allakhverdi ogly Ragimov, who had become a Baptist. Ragimov soon became head of the sect in Kirovabad and his conversion is represented as an act of careerism.

BR. 19. 5.59

## SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The decisions of the XXIst Party Congress have increased the importance of the fight of "survivals of the past" since the Seven-Year Plan is a plan of Communist construction, and there can be no such survivals in the consciousness of Communist Man. Those entrusted with the task of eliminating these features in Central Asia are faced with a formidable problem, not least in the Islamic attitude towards women. Old habits die hard as is shown in the examples quoted below.

A Middle School teacher Dolores (sic) Dulyatova was abducted from Chilik village (Alma-Ata oblast) by a lorry-driver Khelilov and his accomplices and forced to marry him.

The Enbakhshi-Kazakh inter-rayon State Prosecutor Syzdykbekov refused to issue a warrant for the arrest of the culprits and, in fact, took their side. The rayon Party Committee also treated the crime lightly and did not give it a due "political appraisal".

Finally the oblast Party Committee was forced to intervene. Syzdykbekov was given a severe reprimand to be entered on his Party registration card and was removed from his post. Khelilov and his associates were put up for trial. The Chilik rayon Party Committee debated the low standard of political propaganda among the workers.

PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1959, No.6

A Tadzhik kolkhoznik, Aso Sabirov, who was strongly averse to exposing his wife to the gaze of strange men and was also traditionally hostile to any other medical treatment than that given by "wise women", refused to allow his wife (who was sick with an infectious disease) to call a doctor. He and his family hid the patient for six days. When finally the illness was discovered by the kolkhoz nurse he refused to allow her to treat the patient and chased her out of his house. His refusal of treatment by the kolkhoz medical orderly (a man) was even stronger. Only after 10 days of persuasion by doctors from the rayon centre did he allow his wife to be brought to hospital. Two days later he appeared in the company of four other men and demanded his wife. At home the woman's health deteriorated sharply. When it became obvious that she was dy-



ing Sabirov finally called a doctor. It was too late, however, to prevent his wife's death. KT. 31. 5.59

## TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

### Aviation

#### Turkmenistan

Owing to the increased speed of the TU-104B, which has recently been introduced, flights by IL-14's from Ashkhabad to Moscow have been discontinued. From 15th May these aeroplanes, together with IL-12's, have been used to open up new routes in Turkmenistan and to increase the number of flights on certain of those already in existence.

At present there are two flights a day from Ashkhabad to Krasnovodsk. Extra flights have been added to the Ashkhabad - Tashauz route. An extra flight has been added to the Ashkhabad - Kerki route, stopping only at Mary. The elimination of other stops has shortened the distance flown by 300 km. An extra flight has also been added to the Ashkhabad - Baku route.

New routes have been opened between Ashkhabad and Novo-Urgench and between Ashkhabad and Tashkent by way of Mary, Chardzhou and Bukhara. TI. 17. 5.59

#### Uzbekistan

The Summer time-tables (introduced 20th May) provide for four flights a day by TU-104 between Tashkent and Moscow and Tashkent and Tbilisi. TU-104B airliners are being flown on the Tashkent - Alma-Ata route; the fare will be no more than the present rail fare. A route has been opened between Nukus and Krasnovodsk where passengers can change to TU-104B airliners to reach Moscow.

AN-10 ("Ukraina") airliners will open the Tashkent - Kiev route, and IL-18's the route from Tashkent to Leningrad. The routes Tashkent - Delhi and Tashkent - Kabul will be served by Soviet and Indian aircraft.

A number of routes have been equipped for night-flying. The Samarkand airport has been reorganized for 24-hour operation. PV. 21. 5.59

#### Tadzhikistan

In connection with the introduction of fast jet and turbo-prop airliners and the increase in air traffic of 600 per cent expected by 1965, construction of a new airport is to commence this year in Stalinabad. KT. 27. 5.59

Kazakhstan

New local air routes are being opened in the Virgin Lands of northern Kazakhstan. One such route, the "Bulayev ring", which starts at Petropavlovsk and covers all the sovkhozes of the Bulayev rayon (North-Kazakhstan oblast), is already in operation. Traffic has already started along local routes in the Oktyabr'sk rayon. No information is available on the type of aeroplane being used.

P. 11. 4.59

On 1st June, simultaneously with the introduction of the summer timetables, non-stop flights of IL-18's began between Alma-Ata and Moscow. The flight lasts six hours. The IL-18 also opened, on the 15th June, a new route between Alma-Ata and Rostov via Tashkent and Baku. Two flights a day are being made from Alma-Ata to the spas of Adler and Mineral'nyye Vody via Aktyubinsk, Gur'yev and Astrakhan'. On shorter routes, such as those between Alma-Ata and Kustanay, Karaganda and Pavlodar which have all recently been opened, IL-12's and -14's are in use.

The delivery of "Super-AERO-45" aeroplanes from Czechoslovakia, which are capable of carrying three passengers at 250 km. per hour and have short landing and take-off runs, has made it possible to open up air routes within individual oblasts. It appears, however, that the craft will be on hire like taxis and that no regular flights will be made.

KP. 31. 5.59

THE BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET  
CENTRAL ASIA

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CURRENT SOVIET WRITING ON INDIA

Since 1957, when the output of Soviet writing on India reached unprecedented heights, much of it being published in connection with the tenth anniversary of India's independence, the Soviet Union has continued to publish an impressively large amount of material dealing with India. To give its readers an idea of the bulk and scope of this material CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW has made a survey of Soviet periodicals published in the period January - March 1959 and received at the Central Asian Research Centre. This period may be taken as broadly representative of the post-1957 period, although the survey does not cover, for example, medicine, agrarian questions and caste, subjects which no doubt continue to occupy Soviet experts. Material appearing in books and newspapers has not been taken into account, nor have insubstantial references to India in general articles. A more complete bibliography will as usual be provided by the next issue of RECENT SOVIET SOURCE MATERIAL ON SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA AND THE BORDERLANDS.

The list which follows is sub-divided into classes which have been determined by the nature of the material under review rather than by any preconceived idea of classification. Details of the sources used will be found at the end of the article.

Economy and Industry

Approximately 4,700 words have appeared in the three numbers of SOVREMENNY VOSTOK under review, consisting of six short articles and one of nearly 2,000 words. A fairly short article on the subject of Soviet-Indian economic relations has appeared in VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA, two articles (on Indian atomic energy and the iron and steel industry respectively) appeared in the two issues of MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA and two more general articles were in Nos.6 and 10 of NEW TIMES.

Education

There was a brief article in INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA (No.3 of 1959) on the new school textbooks in Kerala and the opposition they have met with from "reactionaries".

### Exploration and Travel

A short article appeared in VOKRUG SVETA, and a more substantial one on Hyderabad in SOVREMENNY VOSTOK (No.2 of 1959).

### History

Three articles appeared in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA: two long ones, dealing with the sixth and seventh centuries and the history of Tamil culture respectively, and a brief report of Indian publications.

### Linguistics

A substantial article on the modern lexicography of Hindi appeared in VOPROSY YAZYKOZNANIYA.

### Literature

There was an article in SOVREMENNY VOSTOK (No.1), on a recent Russian translation of the Mahabharata and a notice in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA of the INDIAN NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY. Several brief reports provided information on the current literary scene in India in INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA, which also carried (No.2) a long review on the symposium CONTEMPORARY INDIAN LITERATURE (New Delhi, 1957).

### Politics and Current Developments in general

NEW TIMES had two short articles (Nos.5 and 10), the latter on Soviet-Indian friendship. SOVREMENNY VOSTOK (No.2) had an article on the question of Goa and a short account (in No.3) of a recent Indian political conference.

### Reviews (other than literary)

An account of an exhibition of German paintings in Bombay was briefly mentioned in No.3 of INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA. Among the reviews which appeared in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA were one on an Indian atlas and one on an Indian economic geography of Soviet authorship. There were also short notices on the following works of Soviet authorship: Indian economic history, Indian-Soviet economic relations in the nineteenth century, the ancient city of Taksila, and Indian music.

### Translations

Articles written by Indians and appearing in Soviet publications during the period under review are listed here separately and regardless of their subject matter. This does not mean that the authors of some of the articles mentioned above may not be Indians; their nationality is not always made clear.

SOVIET UNION had a review, written by two Indians, of the Moscow production of an Indian play. INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA (Nos.1 and 3) had short articles on industrialization and culture, the links between Russian and Bengali literature, a recent novel in Hindi, and two larger articles on modern Indian writing. There was an article on Russian and Bengali literature in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, while SOVREMENNY VOSTOK published in the three numbers ten articles by Indians. These included six short reports on the present Indian political situation and future prospects, an equally brief account of social and economic planning, a fairly substantial article on relations between India and the USA, and two very short reports on Indian women of the present day.

### Conclusion

Altogether about 56,000 words on the subject of India were published during the period January-March 1959 in the Soviet periodicals received at the Central Asian Research Centre. They may be divided under subject-headings as follows:

Economy and Industry	10,800
Education	500
Exploration and Travel	3,500
History	9,700
Linguistics	4,500
Literature	10,200
Politics and Current Developments	
in general	2,720
Reviews (other than literary)	3,940
Translations	10,150

### Sources

1. INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA, Nos.1, 2 and 3, 1959.
2. MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, Nos.2, 3, 1959.
3. NEW TIMES, Nos.5, 6 and 10, 1959.
4. PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, No.1, 1959.
5. SOVIET UNION, No.109, 1959.
6. SOVREMENNY VOSTOK, Nos.1, 2 and 3, 1959.
7. VNESHNIYAYA TORGOVLYA, No.2, 1959.
8. VOKRUG SVETA, No.1, 1959.
9. VOPROSY YAZYKOZNANIYA, No.1, 1959.

S O V I E T   V I E W S   O N   M O D E R N   I N D I A N  
H I S T O R I O G R A P H Y

The following is an account of an article by N.A. Khalfin in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE No. 4 of 1958, pp.146-54, entitled "Some Problems of International Relations in the Nineteenth Century Middle East as reflected in Modern Indian Historiography". This article reviews in about 3,800 words several Indian works on these problems, concentrating especially on the opinions expressed by Dr.B. Prasad and Sardar K.M. Panikkar. Articles dealing with Soviet views on some of the historical problems discussed have already appeared in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.IV, No. 2, pp.161-71 and Vol.VI, No. 2, pp.125-41, 205-28, while a more recent article expressing the Soviet point of view - again rather on this period of Indian history than on Indian historians of the period - is O.F. Solov'yev's article in VOПРОSY ИСТОРИИ, No.6 of 1958, pp.96-109, entitled "The Question of the Relation of Tsarist Russia to India in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries". There has also been a brief review by S.M. Mirnyy in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE, No. 6 of 1958, pp. 126-7, of K.S. Menon's book THE "RUSSIAN BOGEY" AND BRITISH AGGRESSION IN INDIA AND BEYOND, Calcutta, 1957.

. . .

I. The Need for a New Approach - II. The Two Interpretations - III. The Opinions of Dr. Prasad - IV. The Opinions of Sardar Pannikar - V. The Reception of Dr. Prasad's Views in the West.

I. The Need for a New Approach

Khalfin begins his article by noting that Indian historians have written much on the subject of international relations in the Middle East during the nineteenth century, the latter half especially. He suggests that this is no accident, India's history being "closely interwoven with the history of British colonial policy and international relations in the East". He then gives a list of works dealing specially with this subject (1) and of general works on Indian history in which the subject receives attention.(2)

Khalfin insists that "British colonizers systematically falsified the history of the Indian people for political ends" and quotes in this connection Messrs. Jawaharlal Nehru and N. Kasturi. Mr. Nehru is cited as saying of the work of British historians, "truth lies somewhere at the bottom of a deep well while falsehood, open and unashamed, holds sway over all" (3), an estimate en-

dorsed by Mr. Kasturi, "who added that most of the published sources have been distorted and falsified and that unpublished manuscripts are kept under lock and key".(4) Khalfin remarks that against such a background research by scholars of the Indian Republic acquires particular significance, and he mentions some such scholars as having published valuable work in which they have made use of sources which under the "colonial regime" had been made difficult of access.

## II. The Two Interpretations

According to Khalfin the work of Indian scholars on international relations in the East during the nineteenth century can be divided between those writings in which "some of the traditional motifs of British bourgeois historiography survive" and those which offer a different interpretation. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Professor of History at the University of Delhi, is mentioned as having almost entirely accepted the point of view of those "active agents of British colonialism, H. Rawlinson, G.N. Curzon and P. Sykes" who attributed a defensive character to "the expansionist and aggressive policy of British ruling circles", maintaining that all British policy in the Middle East was dictated by the need to oppose a "Russian menace".(5)

Khalfin concentrates his attention on the first volume of THE FOUNDATIONS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY. Because this book was written by Dr. Prasad for the Indian Council of International Relations Khalfin considers it to be of practical as well as scholarly significance, and quotes from the author's preface to support his contention. "However", Khalfin continues, "the contents of this volume cause one to doubt whether they conform to the title, for the book bears no relation to India's foreign policy. The subject-matter is exclusively the foreign policy of Britain, whose colonial rule had been set up over the Indian people. This foreign and internal policy was entirely directed at providing Britain with maximum opportunities for exploiting India's workers. The author identifies the interests and aims of the British colonizers with the needs of India and her peoples. For example, describing the harsh methods of Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India 1876-80, in bringing pressure to bear on Afghanistan, B. Prasad remarks that 'the mode of his (Lytton's) approach and the procedure adopted were ill-conceived and injurious to Indian interests' (6), but completely passes over the fact that Lytton stood for the defence of Britain's interests, and not India's, and that his actions with regard to Afghanistan had as their aim the total subjection of Afghanistan to British rule, to the detriment of the Indian and Afghan peoples. It is only on the very last page of his book that Dr. Prasad says 'India's foreign policy, being wholly controlled by Her Majesty's Government and completely subordinate to Whitehall, was directed towards the furtherance of British interests'. This absolutely correct affirmation did not, however, form the basis of his work."

Khalfin follows this up with a long quotation from A SURVEY OF INDIAN

HISTORY by Sardar K.M. Panikkar, whose views contrasting the interests of the British "colonizers" and those of the Indian people are set against Dr. Prasad's. In the introduction to the second edition of his book, Sardar Panikkar writes that it is only partially true to speak of a "British period" of Indian history, "because the true history of India during the period was not made at Whitehall, or even by the Governors-General and Viceroy in Calcutta and Delhi and the bureaucracy which administered the country, but by the people of India. . . There is undoubtedly a history of the British in India, starting from the establishment of the first factories to the withdrawal of the last British soldier from the Indian soil. It is connected with India, as it happened on the soil of India, but it is no more a part of Indian history than, say, MacArthur's occupation of Japan is a part of Japanese history. It is an important chapter of British history and as such deserves to be studied by those interested in the history of British achievements overseas. [Here Khalfin asserts that Panikkar is speaking ironically]. . . the importance attached to the British period, and the disproportionate space which it takes up in our textbooks are altogether unjustified and can only be considered as the survival of British propaganda." (7) Khalfin declares that this view of Indian history is one shared by Jawaharlal Nehru and avoids distorting that history after the manner of Dr. Prasad.

### III. The Opinions of Dr. Prasad

At this point Khalfin describes the scope of Dr. Prasad's book, calling it an attempt to outline British policy in the East against a background of the activities of the Tsarist Government in Central Asia in the latter half of the nineteenth century. He stresses the value of Dr. Prasad's work in introducing documents which had not previously received scholarly attention, such as some of the documents of the Foreign and Political Departments of the Government of India [Khalfin says "of the Anglo-Indian Government" - Ed.] preserved in the National Archives, and in making use of such little-studied source material as the Parliamentary Papers relating to Central Asia and Afghanistan. Where Khalfin is most critical of Dr. Prasad is in the absence from his bibliography of works of Russian origin, and of Soviet works in particular. The conclusion Khalfin draws from Dr. Prasad's preface does not reproduce the tone of the author's words, although the underlying meaning has not been distorted. What Dr. Prasad actually wrote is: "I have not been privileged to examine the official Russian archives, which, I was informed, have very valuable material on the varied aspects of Czarist expansion in Asia, and the Tashkent archives have particularly rich material on Central Asian affairs. . . the story is largely built on the British Indian sources of information, and in a study as [sic] the present one, which seeks to analyse the trends of Indo-British policies, the best sources naturally have to be these." The only piece quoted by Khalfin is "on the varied aspects of Czarist expansion in Asia," while "I have not been privileged" appears as: "(he says) he did not have an opportunity", "very valuable material. . . particularly rich material" appears as "many valuable documents", and "the best sources naturally have to be these" becomes "he



expresses the opinion that the best sources for the present subject are Indo-British." In similar fashion Khalfin deprecates the absence from Dr. Prasad's bibliography of M.A. Terent'yev's three-volume work ISTORIYA ZAVOYEVANIYA SREDNEY AZII, but does not mention that the same author's two-volume RUSSIA AND ENGLAND IN CENTRAL ASIA (8) does appear there and is quoted in the text.

Writing of the matter of Dr. Prasad's book, Khalfin says that it reflects his one-sidedness in the use of documents and works of scholarship in the way it shows British policy in the East as aimed entirely at resisting the expansion of Tsarist Russia (and to a considerably lesser extent the expansion of France), this aim being offered as explanation for the British attempts at strengthening their influence in Makran, Seistan and Kashgar and their tactics in establishing buffer states.(9) Khalfin similarly traces the influence of "British bourgeois historiography" in the writings of Manoranjana Chaudhuri, Vijay Kumar, and N.K. Sinha and A.C. Banerjee (10), who, he says, also, to a greater or lesser extent, see British policy as provoked by mistrust of India. All, he continues, like Dr. Prasad fail to enquire whether a Russian attack would have been practicable in view of Russia's military policy, her economic resources and means of transport.

At this point Khalfin gives his own version of historical events. Acquaintance with the Tsarist archives "leads one", he asserts, "to the conclusion that the Russian Government whose activities in Central Asia were indisputably aggressive. . . could not seriously think of an armed invasion of India, much less of conquering India or her neighbour, Afghanistan." British ruling circles, Khalfin suggests, were well aware of this and the real reason for their fear was that Russia's proximity to India might and did in fact help develop the independence movements among "the enslaved population of the colonies" (11), whatever British historians and press might say when distorting historical facts in the interests of the British bourgeoisie. It was this knowledge which led the British, according to Khalfin, to set up buffer states; they thought these would make the anti-colonialist forces in India lose hope of receiving help from abroad and at the same time they served as bases for activities against Russia.

Khalfin then accuses Dr. Prasad of neglecting the economic factors behind British policy in the East and of drawing, consequently, a one-sided picture of that policy as founded on considerations of strategy and trade. He also finds fault with Dr. Prasad on the grounds that he fails to treat of "the people as a subject of history and a most important factor in historical development", omitting, for instance, to mention the popular hostility towards the British in Turkmenia and Afghanistan, without which "it is impossible correctly to describe the course of events in Turkmenia in the seventies and eighties of the nineteenth century. . . to understand the course and results of England's second aggressive war against Afghanistan in 1878-80."

Expressing his contention that Dr. Prasad has misused the source material

in the Indian National Archives, "which testifies so clearly to England's frankly expansionist plans with respect to the peoples of Central Asia", Khalfin gives as an example Dr. Prasad's treatment of the telegram from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India on the 30th May 1877. "The contents of this document", comments Khalfin, "expose the scheme of British ruling circles for making use of the Turkmen tribes as 'cannon fodder' [this expression is not taken from any part of the telegram reproduced by Dr. Prasad - Ed.] and establishing their rule over them at the opportune moment - either directly or through Afghanistan, which was at that time under British influence. All this has been veiled over by expressing an intention to 'help' the Turkmens. 'The only other course', wrote the Viceroy, 'is to help the Turkmans with whom I am now in a position to open safe communication from Quetta through Meshed. Our information leads us to believe that if secretly organized and encouraged by us, they can make a powerful resistance to any Russian force, and as they are not unwilling to be annexed to Afghanistan, influence now obtained over them may eventually furnish valuable basis for negotiations with Cabul.'"(12)

Khalfin then gives two other examples of Dr. Prasad's alleged failure to draw the correct conclusion from the sources he quotes, this time on British "Mervousness" and the Second Afghan War. He says he could go on giving examples which "provide completely logical grounds for drawing the accurate conclusion that the British Government made extensive and more or less skilful use of the shindy they themselves had raised about a 'Russian menace' to India as camouflage for their own predatory schemes." He concludes his survey of Dr. Prasad's book by observing that the author does not claim, in his chapter on "The Persian Gulf and the Arab Littoral", that Russian hostility was the motive force behind British policy in those regions. He quotes Dr. Prasad as saying that there "the dominating motive was commerce and the tension had its origin not in Russian hostility but in the possible commercial rivalry of the European powers or the analogous (13) claims of Turkey or Persia for suzerainty over the petty principalities under British influence."(14) "As we see", comments Khalfin, "the idea of British foreign policy being 'defensive' in nature has, even in the present case, undergone no alteration although it is refuted by the documents the author himself provides relating to the aggressive actions of Britain against Arab tribes, and the violent methods taken by the British bourgeoisie to guarantee their supremacy on the 'Empire's' sea and trade routes."

#### IV. The Opinions of Sardar Panikkar

Returning to the work of Sardar Panikkar, Khalfin says that his name might well stand for the other trend in Indian historical writing, for instead of taking the traditional line he holds that "British expansion in the East was of an entirely 'independent' nature and not a 'provoked', 'defensive' measure. Particularly in his interesting work ASIA AND WESTERN DOMINANCE, K.M. Panikkar emphasizes that India was transformed in the nineteenth century into a country 'from which Britain's authority radiated to all parts of Asia'. British states-

men understood, he continues, that by using India as a strong point, employing her resources and 'native' troops, England could exercise 'a dominating voice in the affairs of Asia'. Doctor Panikkar justly remarks that the British pursued their predatory activities at the expense of the peoples of India."(15)

It might not be out of place in this connection to reproduce more fully another passage from Sardar Panikkar's same interesting work, a passage which does not illustrate Khalfin's theme quite as happily as the brief extracts given above. On the previous page he writes: "There was thus no alliance between the Civil Service and big business, and the British Indian bureaucracy was not interested in the exploitation of India. In fact it could legitimately be said that the services championed 'their India', the India of the dumb masses, against British businessmen and capitalists, except where these had become powerful vested interests in rural areas, like tea plantations in Assam and indigo plantations in Bihar."(16)

Khalfin gives the name of A.C. Kapur as one sharing Sardar Panikkar's point of view and throwing more light on the aggressive nature of British policy in the East in the nineteenth century. There is an urgent need, Khalfin urges, for objective research on the subject, all the more so because "the ideologists of the 'cold war', in the words of Academician Ye. Tarle, make frequent references in their pronouncements to 'Russian history as seen in that distorting mirror in which it is made to appear by present-day American, British and Americanized French bourgeois historiography'."(17)

#### V. The Reception of Dr. Prasad's Views in the West

As examples of the distortion of history in the West, Khalfin gives quotations from two book reviews published in London which he calls "the reaction of bourgeois publications to Dr. Prasad's book THE FOUNDATIONS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY". The first review is taken from "the newspaper THE TIMES at the end of 1956", which a footnote reveals as THE TIMES. [sic] LITERARY SUPPLEMENT of 7th September 1956.

This review is quoted as saying that the requirements of security "dictate an essential continuity in Indian foreign policy; a continuity which is of much greater intrinsic importance than any of the superficial variations of approach which attract so much attention today".(18) On this passage Khalfin comments as follows: "In other words, in the opinion of THE TIMES, India's foreign policy must be founded not on the present ('superficial', as the newspaper expresses it) peace-loving course of strengthening independence and friendship with all countries but on fears for her own security in the face of a threat of 'invasion'. If these recommendations are taken together with the text of Dr. Prasad's book on the events between 1860 and the eighteen-eighties the threat of invasion can only be understood as 'an attack from the north', 'from Russia', or in our days as the mythical 'Communist danger'."

Where the review in THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT said of the author that "he maintains an attitude of scientific impartiality and detachment, although he is occasionally betrayed into some - possibly pardonable - impatience with Lord Lytton. . ." and "If the author is not wholly uninfluenced, particularly in his comments upon past motives and actions, by the currents of political thinking which prevail in his country today, he has a high regard for the sanctity of facts. . ." these appear in Khalfin's version as: "The newspaper mentions as positive features 'the purely scientific, non-Party (nepartijnnyy), detached' attitude of the author to the events being described, and also that in his research work Prof. Prasad was subject only to a small extent to the influence of 'the political opinions prevailing in his country at the present time'."

Khalfin sums up this review as follows: "Thus the author is praised for the weak points in his work and reproached for correct statements which were not, unfortunately, developed in the book. The objectivist and superficial study of such a critical question as British policy in the East is fully to the liking of THE TIMES. This organ of the reactionary circles of England, while doing its best to draw a parallel between 'yesterday' and 'today', attempts to whitewash British imperialist activity in the past by emphasizing that it was aimed solely at 'seeking security' under provocation from the 'menace to India from the north'."

In dealing with Mr. E.T. Stokes's review of Dr. Prasad's book in INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (No.1, January 1957, p.127) Khalfin manages again, more by selective quotation than by any distortion, to give the impression that the reviewer is more unconditional in his approval of the book than appears from his words. Most of this review is translated in separate extracts with comments linking them. Where this treatment is seen to best effect is perhaps in Khalfin's account of Mr. Stokes's concluding words. Thus Mr. Stokes: "It is a disappointing book. The great issues get obscured in a mass of detail, broad analysis is displaced by tedious abstracts of documents, and the style of the doctoral dissertation infects the composition. This is a pity because the theme, if properly handled, could have an important influence on Indian thinking." Khalfin sums this up as follows: "Stokes, however, is far from liking everything in B. Prasad's work. In particular he dislikes the superfluous detail and, above all, the way that 'broad analysis is displaced by tedious extracts from documents'. It is easy to understand the reviewer in this case: the 'tedious extracts from documents' provide a very good exposure of the true, predatory nature of British foreign policy in the East."

Khalfin concludes his survey with the following observations: "As we see, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS follows exactly the same line as THE TIMES, and here and there between the lines one and the same motif may be perceived: a desire that India should, 'at last', have done with a peace-loving policy, 'look to her security' and to that end join, say, SEATO. Thus history is in the closest way interwoven with politics."

Notes

The notes are the author's unless otherwise stated.

- (1) See B. Prasad, *THE FOUNDATIONS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY*, Vol.I, 1860-82, Bombay - Calcutta - Madras, 1955, London, 1956; A.Ch. Kapur, "Disraeli's Forward Policy on the North-West of India, 1874-77", *THE RESEARCH BULLETIN (ARTS) OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PANJAB*, No.IV, History, Hoshiarpur, Panjab, 1951; M. Chaudhuri, "Power-Politics in Afghanistan, Past and Present", *THE MODERN REVIEW*, Calcutta, February, 1949, Vol. LXXXV, No.2, pp.137-40; K.M. Panikkar, "The Himalayas and Indian Defence", *INDIAN QUARTERLY*, New Delhi, April-June 1947, Vol.3, No.2, pp.127-35.
- (2) See N. Kasturi, *HISTORY OF THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF INDIA*, Calcutta, s.a.; K.M. Panikkar, *A SURVEY OF INDIAN HISTORY*, 2nd Ed., Bombay - Calcutta, 1954; K.M. Panikkar, *ASIA AND WESTERN DOMINANCE: A SURVEY OF THE VASCO DA GAMA EPOCH OF ASIAN HISTORY 1498-1945*, London, 1953; N.K. Sinkha and A.Ch. Banerdzhi, *ISTORIYA INDII*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo inostrannoy literatury, 1954; V. Kumar, *ANGLO-AMERIKANSKIY ZAGOVOR PROTIV KASHMIRA*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo inostrannoy literatury, 1954.
- (3) Dzh.Neru. *OTKRYTIYE INDII*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo inostrannoy literatury, 1955, p.306.
- (4) N. Kasturi, *op.cit.*, pp.1-2.
- (5) See H. Rawlinson, *ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE EAST*, London, 1875; G.N. Curzon, *RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA IN 1889 AND THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN QUESTION*, London - New York, 1889; G.N. Curzon, *PERSIA AND THE PERSIAN QUESTION*, Vols.I-II, London, 1892; P. Sykes, *A HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN*, Vols.I-II, London, 1940; B. Prasad, *op.cit.*
- (6) B. Prasad, *op.cit.*, p.171.
- (7) K.M. Panikkar, *A SURVEY OF INDIAN HISTORY*, p.ix.
- (8) M.A. Terentyef, *RUSSIA AND ENGLAND IN CENTRAL ASIA*, 2 Vols., Calcutta, Foreign Department Press, 1876. This is a translation of the Russian original which was published in St.Petersburg in 1875. Terent'yev, in his introduction to this book, dated July 1875, refers to *THE HISTORY OF RUSSIAN CONQUESTS IN CENTRAL ASIA*, saying that it will shortly be ready for the press and that he has been engaged on it since 1870. (Translator's note.)
- (9) B. Prasad, *op.cit.*, pp.52-64, 65-82, 41-51.

- (10) M. Chaudhuri, op.cit., pp.137-40; N.K. Sinkha and A.Ch. Banerdzhi, op. cit., p.381; V. Kumar, op.cit., pp.8, 25-29, 38, etc.
- (11) See K. Marks and F. Engels, SOCHINENIYA, Vol.XVI, Part II, p.34; I.P. Minayev, DNEVNIKI PUTESHESTVIY V INDIYU I BIRMU, 1880 and 1885-86, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo AN/SSSR, 1955; A.A. Benediktov, INDIYSKOYE KREST'YANSTVO V 70-KH GODAKH XIX VEKA (EKONOMICHESKOYE POLOZHENIYE I BOR'BA PROTIV FEODAL'NOGO I KOLONIAL'NOGO GNETA), Stalinabad, 1953.
- (12) B. Prasad, op.cit., p.106 (Dr. Prasad is quoting Viceroy to Secretary of State, Telegram, 30th May 1877, F.D.S.P., November 1877, No.106/27). F.D.S.P. is presumably the Foreign Department Secret Proceedings mentioned at the end of Dr. Prasad's bibliography - Translator.
- (13) The word here - analogichnyye - is a mistranslation of the English word "likely". (Translator's note.)
- (14) B. Prasad, op.cit., p.233.
- (15) K.M. Panikkar, ASIA AND WESTERN DOMINANCE, pp.158, 160.
- (16) Ibid., p.157. (Translator's note.)
- (17) Ye.V. Tarle, "Vtoraya mirovaya voyna v krivom zerkale", BOL'SHEVIK, 1949, No.21, p.60.
- (18) "India and her Neighbours." THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, 7th September 1956, p.520. Unsigned review.

## A F G H A N I S T A N :

## T H E P A S H T U N I S T A N P R O B L E M

The following is a slightly abridged translation of an article entitled "New Trends in the Development of Social Ideas in Afghanistan in Connection with the Pashtunistan Problem" by R.T. Akhramovich, which appeared in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDIENIYE, 1958, No.4. The author unmistakably supports the Afghan point of view in the matter of Pashtunistan as this is in line with Soviet policy.

A historical comment by Sir Olaf Caroe is appended.

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I. The Nature of Afghan Nationalism - II. The Historical Development of Ideas on Pashtunistan - III. The Attitude towards the British - IV. National Rights in Islam - V. The Pashtunistan Problem in the Light of Current Developments.

## I. The Nature of Afghan Nationalism

The article starts with a brief description of the progress of Afghan nationalism, after which it continues:

"The policy of the leading circles in the country on questions relating to national self-determination for the Afghans of Pakistan (the Pashtuns, or the so-called 'Pathans') is undoubtedly a manifestation of Afghan nationalism. The great attention which has been paid by these articles to the fate of the Pashtuns beyond their borders has in recent years established itself as a main factor in the foreign policy of Afghanistan and provides interesting material throwing light on the nature of Afghan nationalism.

"The present survey is based on material published in the Afghan Press between 1953 and 1955. It was precisely in those years that the conflict between the course of foreign policy being followed by sovereign Afghanistan and that policy which the imperialist powers were pursuing in Asia came more clearly into the open."

The author claims that: "In their attempts to draw Afghanistan into the camp of the aggressors, imperialist circles tried to put pressure on her by turning to their account the Afghan-Pakistan quarrel over the Pashtunistan question. The problem of Pashtunistan has been one of the causes of Afghan-Pakistan discord ever since the state of Pakistan was set up in 1947. Defying

the attempts of Pakistan's ruling circles, who regard those regions with a population of five million Afghans (Pashtuns) at one time forcibly included in British India, as a part of Pakistan territory, Afghanistan has come forward in defence of the right of Afghans beyond her borders to national self-determination. At the same time a peaceful settlement of the problem is proposed by means of a universal referendum among the Pashtuns."

After explaining the moral justification claimed by Afghan leaders in defending Afghans abroad from the designs of imperialism, the author describes how the irridentist campaign intensified between 1953 and 1955. "In contrast to the diffuse arguments of the first post-war years, the pages of the Afghan press have now begun to resound with the themes of the national consolidation of the Afghan people and their common historical destiny. By proving that the aspirations towards liberty shown by the Pashtuns of Pakistan are part of a regular historical pattern and by submitting to criticism the 'foreign forces' who endeavour to suppress these aspirations, the Afghan press assigns to the national movement of the Pashtuns a definite place among the peoples of Indo-China, India, Indonesia, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, etc., who are asserting their right to independent development."

## II. The Historical Development of Ideas on Pashtunistan

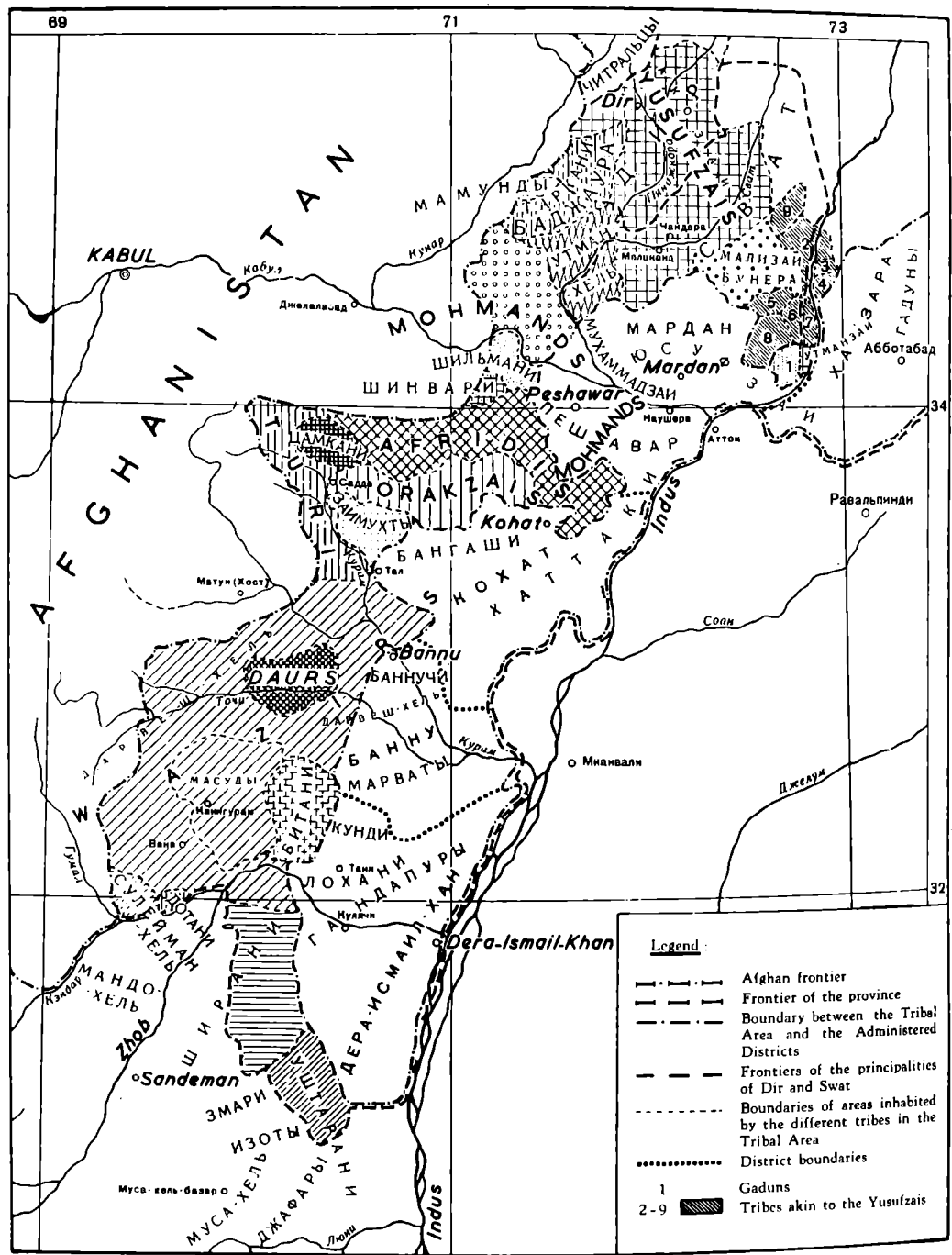
The author says that although "the concept of the common ethnic inheritance of the Pashtuns of Afghanistan and those of the north-western regions of what was British India. . . was turned to good account by the representatives of the Afghan feudal-monarchic state in their defence of Afghan independence against the encroachments of British colonizers. . . the modern approach to the question of the nationality of the Pashtuns beyond the borders differs from the approach which was adopted in the previous period". He explains that whereas Afghan nationalism was previously "dressed out in religious garb. . . emphasis is now being laid on the conditions affecting the origin and development of a people and on the importance of national self-determination as the most important factor of this development.

"Pashtunistan is the name of a land which has been in existence for centuries. The people who live there have all the elements and characteristics of nationhood. . . The name "Pashtunistan" apparently came into being at the time of the partition of India. In fact, however, it has a very ancient history stretching back over the years', wrote the great Afghan scholar and publicist Sadiqullah Rishtin. (ISLAH, 5. 2.53.) In this connection Rishtin's attempt to define the 'elements and characteristics of nationhood' and to give an original analysis of a nation's component parts is highly significant. Applied to the Afghans beyond the borders these 'elements', according to Rishtin, appear as follows: 'All the inhabitants of Pashtunistan are of the same stock, race and origin. . . they also have the same mother-country, and have lived from generation to generation on the same territory, side by side.'"





# THE PATHAN TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE



(Reproduced from *Agrarnyye otnosheniya v severo-zapadnoy pogranchnoy provintsii Indii*, Moscow, 1953)

The article gives further quotations from Rishtin on the common language and customs of the Pashtuns and continues: "In proving and emphasizing the national separateness of the Pashtuns abroad, the Afghan press especially notes their ethnic independence in relation to the other peoples inhabiting Pakistan: 'The land of Pashtunistan stretches from the Khyber to Dera Ghazi Khan, from Gilgit and Chitral to the Arabian Sea. The inhabitants of this land are all Pashtuns and are utterly different in language, customs and culture from the inhabitants of Pakistan'." (ISLAH, 1.10.53.)

After giving a number of quotations from Afghan publications and pronouncements on the subject of the common kinship of all Pashtuns the author continues: "While the authors of a number of publications limit themselves to an examination of the close bonds of kinship between the 'peoples of Afghanistan and Pashtunistan' - two peoples, albeit fraternal ones - others go still further and raise the question of one united Afghan people on both sides of the border. In corroboration of this thesis the Afghan press often includes information on the settlement of Afghan tribes on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistan border. The territory of Pashtunistan, ISLAH (5. 6.55) points out, 'was torn from the people of Afghanistan and is the homeland of those Pashtun tribes which are to be found in Pashtunistan as well as in Afghanistan'. Mention is made in this connection of the following tribes, among others, 'which live partly on the territory of Afghanistan and partly in the regions of Pashtunistan': the Mohmands, Shinwaris, Wazirs, Kakars, Afridis, Chamkannis, Mangals, Shiranis, and Dauris.

"Among the phenomena which bear witness to the way in which Afghan national consciousness is being actively strengthened, are the decidedly interesting attempts by Afghan publicists to interpret such concepts as the people, the tribe, and the correlation between tribe and people. This is particularly important for the Afghan people, whose social life has preserved down to the present time considerable survivals of a communal-clan structure. Questions of adherence to a particular tribe and its sub-unit (khel) still play an appreciable part in the consciousness and way of life of a considerable number of Afghans. A representative attempt of this kind is the article of the great Afghan writer and publicist and president of the Afghan Academy, Gul Pacha Ulfat, entitled 'Pashtun is not the name of a tribe but of a people'. (ISLAH, 28.12.53.) Observing that a people differs from a tribe in that it is 'a collection of tribes, an association of tribes', Ulfat writes: 'Whoever identifies people and tribe will count the Pashtuns as a tribe.' Meanwhile 'Pashtuns must know that the concept of "Pashtun" is considerably wider than that of a tribe. This concept is not as small and insignificant as some believe who have given it extremely limited consideration.' Acknowledging the presence among the Afghans of stable groups of related tribes such as the Ghilzais and Durranis Ulfat puts them into categories 'broader than the tribe, but narrower than the people'. The author's conclusion reads as follows: 'The Pashtuns are those who are settled in two countries, in Afghanistan and Pashtunistan'.

"In the last few years the Afghan press has been calling for 'a strengthening of national feeling', this being, as the newspaper KABUL (No.376, 1955) points out, a people's 'source of greatness'."

### III. The Attitude Towards the British

"A pronounced anti-imperialist trend appears in the treatment given by contemporary Afghan publicists to the question of the role played by the British colonial invaders in severing the Afghan people, now divided into two parts by the state boundary.

"The Afghans beyond the border, writes ISLAH (29. 4.53), 'were separated from us and from the dear land of our birth at the end of the nineteenth century by the artificial and ill-fated boundary called the Durand Line and by the use of oppression and force'."

A number of quotations on this subject follow and the author notes that "particular attention is given to the combined struggle of the Afghans living on both sides of the Durand Line against the British invaders and to the support which the Pathans gave to the cause of Afghan independence".

The article continues: "Afghan publicists have also mentioned the part played by the anti-British actions of the Afghans of north-west India in the all-India liberation movement. Observing that the Pashtuns took an active part 'in the struggle of the people of India against oppression' (ISLAH, 26.12.54), the newspaper ISLAH (2. 9.54) writes, 'Present-day Pakistan received her freedom and independence with the help of these Pashtun tribes'.

"Some authors dwell on the economic results of British colonial rule in the Pashtun regions. 'In the regions of Pashtunistan, when it was under British rule, no industrial progress took place', writes Sadiquallah Rishtin. 'Under the British', he continues, 'the territory of Pashtunistan was used only for building fortifications and quartering garrisons. . . Because of that Pashtunistan is extremely backward economically and culturally.' (ISLAH, 31. 5.55.) It should at the same time be mentioned that Afghan writers still describe the economic consequences of British colonial rule in the Pashtun regions very seldom and too superficially. However, the mere appearance of even desultory remarks on the economic consequences of British colonialism in Pashtunistan is of interest. . .

"At the same time the traditions of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the Afghans are being popularized, it being described as of vital importance to the whole Afghan people and as serving, now as in the past, the interests of both parts of that people. The need to protect and strengthen the Afghan national state is asserted and serves as a motto for this struggle."

(The remainder of the article is given in full.)

## IV. National Rights in Islam

"Afghan publications clearly demonstrate that questions of religion now play a subordinate role in Afghan nationalism, whereas the assertion and defence of the rights of Afghans to independent existence and development occupy the main role. Articles appearing in recent years in Afghan periodicals in defence of the national rights of the Pathans have been remarkable for the unambiguous way in which they referred to attempts at limiting these rights under the pretext of the common religion of the population of Pakistan.

"Every Muslim people has the right to maintain its national existence', writes ISLAH (23. 4.53). 'In this age of freedom people are not willing to be slaves and will guard and defend against the encroachments of others not only freedom of religious belief, but also their right to political independence and national freedom', explains KHIVAD (22. 9.54). Contemporary Afghan publicists vigorously protest against 'taking advantage of the pure name of Islam to encroach on the rights of other peoples'. (KHIVAD, 22. 9.54.) The Afghan Press is conducting a big campaign with the object of refuting the thesis of the primacy of religious 'unity' over national unity. Such attacks as these mark a definite stage in the development of Afghan nationalism.

"The Afghan press defends its point of view on questions of 'the unity of the peoples in the Muslim world'. Islam is the official religion in Afghanistan. In questions of internal policy the leading circles of the country are careful to preserve the positions held by the Muslim clergy who are able in many ways to influence the course of state affairs. In accordance with the constitution the higher clergy take part in enacting legislation and the legal system functions in conformity with the shariat regulations, and so on. Present-day Afghanistan emphasizes in international questions her devotion to the cause of 'Muslim brotherhood'. At the same time the theory of 'the unity of Muslim countries', as interpreted by the press of Afghanistan and applied to the Pashtun problem, means that such a unity ought not to hinder, but rather to assist the Muslim peoples in the attainment of their national rights. The newspaper ISLAH (17.2, 23. 4.53), for example, makes an appeal for co-operation and sympathy between Muslim peoples while at the same time protesting against the infringement of their national rights. The national principle behind such utterances as these, which echo the contemporary interests of the Afghan nation, is obvious.

"Contemporary Afghan publicists protest against the infringement of the national rights of the Pashtuns beyond the borders 'under the cloak of Islam', and even assert the right of peoples to an independent national development irrespective of a religion's being held in common with other peoples, but at the same time they turn to religion for a confirmation of their new attitudes which echo the interests of a nation in process of consolidation. The press devotes a large amount of space to material where the violation of the national rights of small peoples is described as 'apostacy from Islam'."

## V. The Pashtunistan Problem in the Light of Current Developments

"The active part played by contemporary Afghan publicists in the ideological struggle for the national right of Afghans, carries with it the imperative need for these publicists to define where they stand in relation to international events. They analyse the historical conditions which affect underdeveloped countries and the factors influencing the development of these countries as independent nations. This is a highly progressive tendency which testifies to the radical development of social ideas in Afghanistan. It can be clearly traced in Afghan publications of recent years.

"Of great interest in giving an idea of the opinions of Afghan publicists is the article by Ghulam Sarvara Rahimi published in the semi-official organ KHIVAD in 1954 with the title 'The Freedom of Pushtunistan in the Light of the Natural Rights of Man'. (22, 24. 9.54.) The author describes, from an anti-imperialist standpoint, the relations of domination and subjection which exist between the colonial powers and the peoples enslaved by them. Rahimi sees the 'economic foundation of colonialism and exploitation' in the way 'the colonizing powers seek to keep their colonies as sources of raw materials and as markets for selling finished articles at inflated prices'. 'The chief evil in colonialism', the author points out, 'lies in the way the (oppressed - R.A.) country is economically enfeebled, resulting in the spread of poverty and destitution'. The author links the growth of the liberation movement in the East with the national interests of the peoples 'who have resolutely raised their national flags against colonialism and oppression'.

"The vast lands of Asia have been visited by hurricanes of tremendous force', writes ISLAH. 'And as a result of these storms Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and other great states have become free, and the cherished dreams of many peoples have come true.' (4.11.53.) 'The age in which we live is the age of liberation', announced KHIVAD (3. 9.54) in a leading article.

"The Afghan Press emphasizes the national character of the aspirations towards liberty shown by the Pashtuns beyond the borders while seeing their movement as part of a common liberation struggle by peoples against 'colonialism and oppression'. Afghan publications show an anti-imperialist trend when remarking on the link between the national movement of the Pashtuns and contemporary events in the East. 'All those countries', writes KHIVAD (22. 9.54), 'which up to the present time were under an alien yoke, are engaged in a struggle to throw it off. . . So also do the valiant Pashtuns resolutely struggle to attain their freedom'. A firm belief is expressed at the same time in the irresistible nature of the peoples' national liberation movement and the futility of all attempts to suppress it by means of force.

"ISLAH insists that the true way to bring about world-wide security lies in granting peoples their legitimate rights, and declares, 'As long as the rights of peoples are not granted. . . all attempts at establishing peace in

the world will be of no avail. As long as violence exists in the world. . . uneasiness will remain and universal security will be absent'. (16. 7.53.) This attitude is directly linked with the declaration about the need to settle the Pashtunistan problem in accordance with the national demands of the Pashtuns."

. . .

#### Historical Comment by Sir Olaf Caroe

Afghan irridentism in respect of the Afghan (or Pathan) territories in Pakistan is the theme of this article, which seeks to justify such a policy on historical grounds.

It is very normal and natural that the Afghan (Durrani) rulers of Afghanistan should aim at such an end, for the Afghan (or Pathan) population of Pakistan is in some ways even more Afghan than the Durrani, both ethnically and linguistically. But the historical basis assumed is over-simplified and full of gaps and errors.

At the outset, the variants Pakhtun, Pashtun and Pathan, all at various times used with the affix -stan, should be understood. Most, but not all, of the Afghans in Pakistan are Pakhtuns (the Khataks, Wazirs and Kakars are Pashtuns, however); most but not all of the Afghans in Afghanistan, including the Durrani, are Pashtuns. The difference in this context is one of dialect. For this reason Kabul apologists tend to speak of Pashtunistan, while Peshawar references are to Pakhtunistan. The word Pathan is only the Indian (Hindi and Panjabi) variant of Pukhtuna, the plural of Pakhtun. There is therefore no distinction between Pathan and Pakhtun/Pashtun.

In this article there are two sub-themes:

(a) A Pakhtunistan should be carved out of Pakistan. It is clear from the article that this state is not conceived as including any Pashtuns in Afghanistan, for it is to embrace "the Pashtuns beyond the border" and its limits are stated as "from the Khyber to Dera Ghazi, from Gilgit and Chitral to the Arabian Sea". It thus covers the old North-West Frontier Province in the tribal regions and Baluchistan, or in other words the trans-Indus portion of Pakistan up to the Durand Line.

Incidentally the southern portion of Baluchistan, south of Quetta, is inhabited by Brahui and Baluchi tribes. not Pathans at all. And neither Chitral nor Gilgit are Pathan in population. But all of these, except Gilgit, owed a loose allegiance to the Durrani Empire of Ahmad Shah (1747-73).

(b) When this Pakhtunistan is set up, it would, for reasons of ethnical, linguistic and other affinities naturally join Afghanistan. "Since there is no difference between us, there is no sense in our being disunited." The irridentism is thus proclaimed.

The argument is sustained by stating in effect that Pakistan has succeeded to an unjust inheritance in that all these Pakhtuns were wrenched away from Afghanistan by the British. This is a distortion of history.

In the first place Afghanistan as a state was created only in 1747 by Ahmad Shah, the Saddozai Durrani. Before that the territories of what are now Afghanistan and the Afghan portion of Pakistan were contended for between the rulers of Persia and the rulers of India. Roughly during the period 1525-1740, they were divided between the Safavis of Isfahan and the Mughals of Delhi. Herat and up to the Helmand was held by the Safavis, Peshawar and Kabul by the Mughals, and Kandahar mostly by the Safavis, though the Mughals had it for an aggregate of 50 years. The result of this was that the Western Afghan tribes, of which the Durranis (then called Abdalis) were and are the most important, developed as Persian feudatories with a Persian bias, while the Eastern Afghan tribes, of which the Yusufzais, Mohmands, Afridis and Wazirs are typical, developed with a Mughal bias. And since many of the Eastern Afghans live in secluded mountains, they were never subjected by an empire and retained much more purely their Pakhtu/Pashtu language and characteristics. The Durranis on the other hand, or at any rate their chiefs, became Persianized and lost their Pashtu. There was thus a deep historical cleavage which has been accentuated by later divisions.

Then came Ahmad Shah. Ahmad was a very great man and like other great forces was able to fuse together by his might and power elements which had hitherto been more notable for divergence than unity. He was the henchman of Nadir Shah, the Persian usurper who overturned the Safavis and invaded India, thereby bringing about the beginning of the Mughal downfall also.

As one price of Nadir's Indian campaign the Mughals had to surrender to him Kabul and all the Eastern Afghan country now included in Pakistan. When Nadir was murdered in 1747, Ahmad, the captain of his Afghan bodyguard, seized Nadir's treasure and with it set up an Afghan kingdom at Kandahar, and a year later secured the allegiance of the Eastern Afghans in and around Peshawar. They were led to join his banner by the success of his campaigns, in the course of which he annexed in rather nominal dependence not only all the Eastern Afghans but Lahore, Multan, Sind and Baluchistan. He also conquered the Khurasan province of Persia. The Pakhtunistan theme is in essence a kind of Messianic reversion to the glories of Ahmad's Durrani Empire. That this is its inspiration is shown by the fact that Baluchistan down to the sea, Chitral and Gilgit are claimed in it, though none of them hold Afghan populations. (Its propagandists might as justly claim Lahore, Sind and Multan; the last has al-



ways had a large Afghan population.)

Ahmad's Durrani Empire only outlasted his son Timur (1773-93). After Timur's death the Sadozai dynasty broke up in internecine struggles between his sons. This enabled the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh to wrench away the whole of the Afghan lands between the Indus and the foothills. (They never penetrated into the mountain regions, e.g. Swat, Tirah or Waziristan, but nor did Ahmad.) The article never even mentions the Sikhs, but it is they, and not the British, who took Peshawar, Hazara, Kohat and Bannu and the Derajat from Afghanistan. When in 1826 the Barakzai/Muhammadzai dynasty of Dost Muhammad Khan succeeded to power in Kabul, they were not able to recover Peshawar or the other regions mentioned from the Sikhs. The Sikhs won Peshawar in 1823.

After the two Sikh wars (1846 and 1848-9) the British, having defeated the Sikhs, took over the Sikh kingdom including the trans-Indus portions inhabited by Afghans. Both Sikhs and British were, probably unconsciously, building on historical foundations long laid; that is to say the Eastern Afghans had for centuries looked towards India, and so indeed had Kabul. It was only under Ahmad Shah that for a short time they looked towards a Persianized authority. In other words in the context of history the Muslim successor state of Pakistan would have as much cause for irridentist claims on Kabul as the successor of the Mughals as the Western and Persianized Afghans have for claims on what they call Pashtunistan.

There remains the tribal belt between the Pakistan Frontier Districts (Peshawar etc.) and the Durand Line. These tribes are still mainly interested in keeping their tribal autonomy and avoiding subjection to taxation and administration. Ahmad Shah raised levies from among them, but never taxed or administered them; the Sikhs left them alone; the British established a more or less loose political control over them, never introducing law, police or taxation. The Barakzai dynasties - there have been two since the Sadozais fell - never succeeded in subjecting or penetrating any of them either before or after the establishment of the Durand Line in 1893, although it is true that on many occasions the Afghan Ruler of Kabul was able to encourage them to act as "a prickly hedge" against the non-Muslim British Government, and frequently paid "an Afghan party" allowances, and raised levies. But, whatever the verdict on whether Amir Abdurrahman made the Durand Agreement freely or under duress - and his own published words in his Autobiography suggest the former - there is no doubt whatever that, from Mughal times to the present day, the economic ties of all these tribes, Yusufzais, Tarklanris, Mohmands, Afridis, Orakzais, Wazirs, Mahsuds, Sheranis, Kakars etc., are with the marts towards the Indus, and not with Kabul, Ghazni or Kandahar. In other words they naturally look east, not west.

The sum of the matter is that, while it is perfectly natural that patriotic Afghans should aim at uniting all people of Afghan stock and language in one state, this has only been done in history for a very short time under

Ahmad Shah and his immediate Saddozai successors. When Ahmad Shah's powerful cement was loosened, Eastern and Western Afghans reverted to century-old and traditional cleavages, the former drawn towards the authority holding sway in the Indus Valley. The part played by the Sikhs in all this was vital; and cannot be dismissed. Finally the Pakhtunistan theme entirely overlooks the century during which the Eastern Afghans were introduced to the standards of European thought and practice which are the heritage of the Indo-British synthesis. It is perhaps more likely that the inheritors of this synthesized way of life will draw Kabul into their orbit than that those who remember Sahibzada Abdulqayyum and Dr. Khan Sahib will gravitate towards Durrani feudalism.

## A N A F G H A N M A G A Z I N E

The following is a translation of a review entitled "Notes on the magazine AFGHANISTAN in 1957" by Yu.V. Gankovskiy which appeared in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE, 1958, No.4.

. . .

Evidence of the successful growth of Afghan historical scholarship is provided not only by Afghan historians' recently published monographic treatises of Afghan historians, but by these historians' articles in various periodicals and principally in the magazine AFGHANISTAN, the organ of the Afghan "Historical Society". A list confined to the main articles published in AFGHANISTAN in 1957 gives an idea of Afghan scholars' wide range of scholarly interests which covers not only the remote historical past of their country but contemporary events as well.

The first number contains the continuation of Muhammad Ali's work "Aryana", the sections included here (Nos.XI to XIV) dealing with the history of Afghanistan from the third century B.C. to the seventh century A.D. The same number has a brief essay on the development of the fine arts in Afghanistan from the Graeco-Bactrian epoch to the end of the fifteenth century. This essay is from the pen of the well-known historian Ahmad Ali Kohzad, the director of the "Historical Society" and the Kabul Museum.

Ahmad Ali Kohzad is the author of an extremely interesting work on the recent history of Afghanistan published in Nos.2, 3 and 4 of the magazine. A.A. Kohzad tells of the prolonged internecine struggle which broke out in Afghanistan between the successors of Ahmad Shah Durrani. As a result of this struggle the vast empire established by that outstanding Afghan general and political leader disintegrated. A.A. Kohzad's account is illustrated with a number of official documents preserved in the Kabul Museum. He gives, for example a translation of three letters from Muhammad Azim Khan to Aminullah Khan Logari (who became famous at the time of the struggle for Afghanistan's independence 1838-42). In these letters, written in Zu 'l-Qa'dah and Zu 'l-Hijjah 1233 A.H., Muhammad Azim Khan invites Aminullah Khan and his clan to ally themselves to the Barakzais in order to take vengeance on Shah Mahmud Durrani for the murder of the celebrated Fath Khan Barakzai. A.A. Kohzad writes about the rise of Dost Muhammad, bringing to his narration a translation of the full text of the treaty signed on the 10th Rabi' ath-Thani 1242 A.H. between the sons of Painda Khan Barakzai who divided Afghanistan between themselves into independent principalities. The detailed account in No.3 of the uprisings of the vicerecents of Kashmir against the power of the

Afghan shahs is very interesting, as in the report of the events connected with the siege of Ghazni by the army of British colonizers at the time of the First Anglo-Afghan War (No.4). Dealing with the same period as this section of A.A. Kohzad's work is the essay on the modern and recent history of Afghanistan by Muhammad Ali, published in No.1. This is an account of events from the end of the First Anglo-Afghan War to the present day.

Apart from papers on purely historical subjects AFGHANISTAN printed in 1957 several articles on ethnography, linguistics and archaeology which included articles by Ahmad Ali Kohzad on the Ghaznavid bronzes (No.2), by Muhammad Nabi Kohzad on the Parachi language (No.2) and by Ahmad Ali Mutamedi on the Afghan popular game of buzkash (No.2). Ahmad Ali Mutamedi is also the author of some notes on the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes of present-day Afghanistan (No.1), and on the mythology of the Kafirs-Siyah-Push which he collected in the summer of 1953 in the course of a journey through Nuristan (Nos.3 and 4). Muhammad Ali has an article on some customs of the Afghan people, on hospitality, for example, and on their wedding rites and ceremonies (No.3).

The magazine AFGHANISTAN also comments on contemporary events and its pages carry material on the ever-growing friendship and ties between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp.

## NEWS DIARY

## AFGHANISTAN, INDIA, PAKISTAN, SINKIANG

The following diary includes items from newspapers and periodicals received during the period April - June 1959 inclusive. In view of the variety of sources from which the information has been collected, contradictions may occur; no responsibility can be taken for the accuracy of the information given but the source is given for each item. Items dealing with Persia are being unavoidably held over till the next issue.

A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the REVIEW.

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AFGHANISTAN

- April 27th. Protocols on the turnover of merchandize in 1959 and on prices were signed in Moscow after having been initialled in Kabul. The former envisages an increase in trade between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, while the goods involved remain those traditionally associated with Soviet-Afghan trade.  
P. 24, 28.4.59, 6.5.59; KP., KT., SK. 25.4.59;  
BR., KP., PV. 29.4.59
- May 7th. The Afghan Minister of Trade left Moscow for Afghanistan and the Afghan Government delegation left for Leningrad.  
P. 8.5.59; KP. 9.5.59; FET. June 1959
- 14th. A photographic exhibition called "The Life of Soviet People" closed after a highly successful week in Kabul with the showing of a film which drew "uninterrupted applause". PV. 16.5.59
- 16th. A contract has been signed in Kabul between the Ministry of Public Works and TEKHNOEKSPORT for the reconstruction of Kabul's airport.  
BR., PV. 19.5.59
- 22nd. The Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Muhammad Daud Khan, left Moscow after a four-day visit.  
P. 19-24.5.59  
(Also covered by KZ. and Central Asian newspapers.)

28th. An economic and technical cooperation agreement was signed yesterday under the terms of which the Soviet Union will help in the construction of a motor road from Kushka to Kandahar via Herat. Work will begin this year. It is also proposed to build an airfield in the west of Afghanistan.

T. 29.5.59; P., KZ. 30.5.59;

BR., KP., SK. 31.5.59; PV. 27.6.59

Recent development at the river port of Termez in Uzbekistan has made it an important Afghan-Russian trade junction. FET. June 1959

To meet the shortage of food grains in Afghanistan the Soviet Union has promised 40,000 tons of wheat. FET. June 1959

Built with the help of Czech experts, a cement plant went into operation at Jebel-i-Siraj on the 5th May. FET. June 1959

A Soviet anti-locust team has been working in Afghanistan in co-operation with Afghan specialists. P. 20.5.59

June An Afghan parliamentary delegation is to visit the USSR on a Soviet invitation at a date to be announced later. P., PV. 4. 6.59

An oil-pumping station has been installed at the Afghan port of Kizil-kala by workers from the Chardzhou ship repair yard. (See also CAR, Vol.VII, No.1, p.100.) TI. 5. 6.59

## INDIA

March 7th. A trade agreement for 1959 was signed in New Delhi between India and Czechoslovakia. Details are given of the commodities involved. FET. May 1959

April 5th. The All-India Conference of Solidarity of the Countries of Asia and Africa ended its work, in which a Soviet delegation had participated. A telegram from Mr. Khrushchev was read at the final session. P. 3,7.4.59; BR. 7. 4.59

5th. Mr. Nehru said that he had declined an invitation from Mr. Khrushchev to visit Russia. T. 6. 4.59

21st. Mr. I.A. Benediktov, deputy chairman of the Soviet planning commission, was named as the new Russian Ambassador in Delhi to succeed Mr. P.K. Ponomarenko. T. 22. 4.59

23rd. Sahib Singh Sokkhey, an "eminent Indian public figure", arrived in Moscow to sit on the International Lenin Prize Committee "for the strengthening of peace between the nations". P. 24.4.59

25th. An exhibition of works by the Photographic Society of Allahabad opened in Moscow. P. 24.4.59

The Azerbaydzhan machine industry recently received from India an order for the delivery in the second and third quarters of 1959 of a large quantity of oil equipment, underground machinery and apparatus. BR. 8. 4.59

A statue of Sarasvati, Indian goddess of wisdom and learning, carved by a Kirgiz has been exhibited at a Kirgiz show in Moscow. SU. 1959, No.110

May

6th. A contract was signed in Delhi under which the Soviet Union will assist India in building a 250,000 kilowatt thermal power station at Neiveli (Madras). BR., KP., KT., PV., SK. 9. 5.59  
BR., KP. 26.6.59

6th. An Indian Government trade delegation left for Moscow on a five-week tour of East European countries to explore possibilities of expanding exports. T. 7. 5.59

15th. Yuvaraj Karan Singh, head of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, left Moscow at the end of his visit to the Soviet Union with his wife, the Yuvaranee. Since their arrival on the 23rd April they have been to Leningrad, Sochi, Tbilisi, Tashkent, Samarkand, and Stalinabad. P. 1,4,15.5.59 (Also covered by KT. and PV.)

21st. Mr. P.Ya. Antropov, the Russian Minister for Geological Survey and Mineral Resources, accompanied by a Russian geological expert, left Delhi where he has been since the 12th May at the invitation of the Indian Government. He visited Cambay, Baroda, Hoshiarpur and Dehra Dun. Increased Soviet help to the public sector of India's oil industry is expected to result from this visit. P. 13.5.59; KP. 14,23.5.59; T. 22.5.59

29th. A Soviet-Indian agreement was signed in Moscow under which the Soviet Union will assist India in the construction of pharmaceutical and medical equipment and plants. (See also CAR, Vol.VII, No.1, p.104.) NEW TIMES, No.23, 1959

29th. An Indian economic mission, headed by Sardar Swaran Singh Minister for Steel, Mines and Fuel. left the Soviet Union where it has been since the 14th May for talks and visits to various Soviet

industrial enterprises. P. 31.5.59; FET. June 1959. (Also covered in Central Asian Press.)

An Indian educationalists' delegation visited Tashkent from 14th-18th May before going on to Moscow. SK. 16.5.59; PV. 19.5.59

Indian schoolchildren have been visiting a Tashkent school where Hindi is being taught. (See also CAR, Vol.VI, No.1, p.118.) PV. 19.5.59

Mr. Mukhitdinov has presented the Rabindranath Tagore Museum at Shantineketan, West Bengal, with volumes containing Tagore's works in various languages of the Soviet Union. P. 21.5.59; KT., PV. 22.5.59

Professor Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, director and organizer of the Indian Statistical Institute in Delhi, arrived in the Soviet Union on 23rd April and has been received by Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Kosygin. (See also CAR, Vol.VI, No.4, p.473.) P. 24.4., 8, 24.5.59  
(Also covered in Central Asian Press.)

An Indian industrial mission left Delhi for Moscow to discuss possibilities of Russian economic aid to India during a third five-year plan. T. 22.5.59

Banarasi Das Chaturvedi and Tkhakazhi (sic) Shivashankara Pillai from India delivered speeches at the third USSR writers' congress. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 24.5.59; 2. 6.59

Czechoslovak airlines are to open a route to India. FET. June 1959

The Western Shipping Corporation is expected this year to be operating on the India-Poland route, it was announced in the Lok-Sabha. FET. June 1959

Mr. W. Tramczynski, Minister for Foreign Trade of the Polish People's Republic, who is touring India, has indicated that a new Polish-Indian trade agreement to follow the current agreement (see CAR, Vol.VI, No.1, p.91 and No.3, p.360) is likely to be spread over a longer period and cover a wider range of items. Details given. FET. June 1959

June 16th. A branch of the Society for Soviet-Indian cultural links has been set up in Azerbaydzhan. BR. 18.6.59

A play by the Indian author Pragdzhi Dossa (sic) entitled ISPORCHENNYI REBENOK (The Spoilt Child) is to be acted on the Tashkent stage in the autumn. It will be the first work of an Indian writer dealing with Indian present-day life to appear on the Soviet stage. PV. 30.6.59



A gift of Azerbaydzhani books has been sent from the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaydzhan SSR to the Vice-President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan. BR. 21.6.59

Elmira Ragimova, a singer from Baku, has just completed a year's study at the University of Fine Arts in India. She was invited to India by Dr. Radhakrishnan, who heard her sing during his visit to the Soviet Union and was much impressed. SU. 1959, No.112

Sholokhov's novel AND QUIET FLOWS THE DON has been published in India in a Bengali translation. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 18.6.59

### PAKISTAN

June 12th. The new Pakistani Ambassador in Moscow, Aga Hilali, presented his letters of credence at the Kremlin. P. 13.6.59

### SINKIANG

May 8th. A delegation of sportsmen and women from Kirgizia arrived in Sinkiang for a ten-day visit. SK. 19.6.59

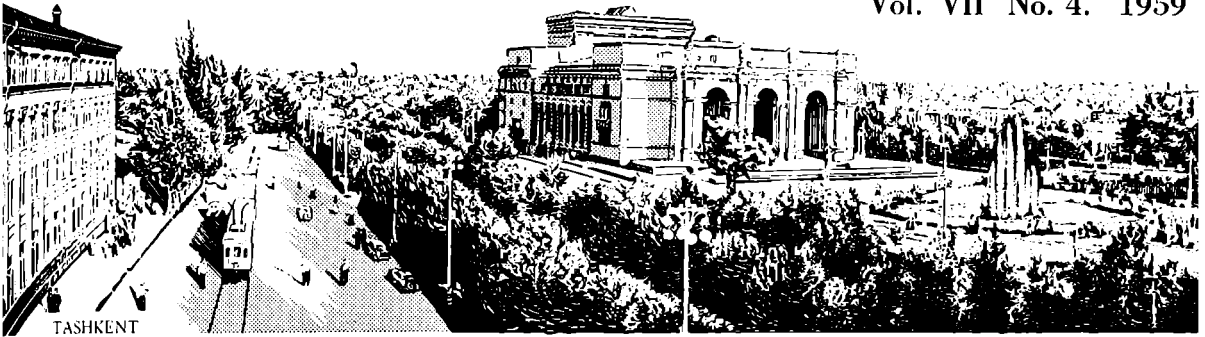
Reports reaching Sikkim stated that Russian troops entered Tibet through Sinkiang. DAILY TELEGRAPH, 21.5.59

June An experimental sheep-farm on the Kunges steppe has, with Soviet aid, made great progress during the twenty years of its existence and has plans worked out up to 1962. DRUZHBA, No.23, 1959





Vol. VII No. 4. 1959



TASHKENT

# CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

A quarterly review of cultural developments in  
the six Muslim republics of the Soviet Union.

Issued by the Central Asian Research Centre in association with  
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BUKHARA

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*CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW* aims at presenting a coherent and objective picture of cultural developments in the six Muslim Soviet Socialist Republics of Azerbaydzhan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizia and Kazakhstan. The subjects treated include history, geography, demography, the arts, education, irrigation and communications.

In addition, the *REVIEW* analyses past and current Soviet publications on the countries bordering on or adjacent to these republics, namely, Persia, Afghanistan, the Indian sub-continent, Tibet and Sinkiang.

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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Review when referring to the Soviet Academies of Sciences, and to newspapers and periodicals etc. employed as sources, are as follows :-

AN/SSSR	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences) of USSR
AN/Kaz. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Kazakh SSR
AN/Kirg. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Kirgiz SSR
AN/Tad. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Tadjik SSR
AN/Turk. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Turkmen SSR
AN/Uzb. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Uzbek SSR
SAGU	Sredneaziatskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet (Central Asian State University)
BR	Bakinskiy Rabochiy
FET	Far East Trade
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda
KT	Kommunist Tadjikistana
KZ	Krasnaya Zvezda
NT	New Times
P	Pravda
PV	Pravda Vostoka
SK	Sovetskaya Kirgiziya
SU	Soviet Union
T	The Times
TI	Turkmenskaya Iskra
VVS	Vedemosti Verkhovnogo Soveta

# CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

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## EDITORIAL

On many occasions during the past four years CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW has referred to the growing importance of Soviet oriental studies, to the breadth of their scope and to the emphasis which they lay on modern problems and particularly on the modern forms of eastern languages. Careful analyses were made of the article in KOMMUNIST of May 1955 which heralded a great reorganization and expansion of oriental studies(1), of the published proceedings of the All-Union Congress of Orientalists held in Tashkent in June 1957(2), and of the authoritative editorial in the December 1957 issue of SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE which outlined the preparations to be made for the XXVth Session of the International Congress of Orientalists being held in the USSR\* in August 1960(3). This session - the first of the Congress to be held in the Soviet Union - will be an event of great significance which, in the Soviet view, may well affect the concept of oriental scholarship.

It may be said without fear of contradiction that the Western academic world as a whole is ignorant of the nature and achievement of Russian and Soviet oriental studies. Of the many hundreds of books published in Britain during the past 50 years on eastern subjects, only a very few contain any reference to Russian source material. This is even true of books on Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, countries whose histories have been and are intimately connected with Russia and on which a wealth of Russian literature is in existence. Of the 50 odd papers presented at an international conference on Middle East history held at a British university in 1958, only two referred to Russian sources, although these amount

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\* It is understood that the Congress is now to be held in Moscow and not in Leningrad as previously announced.



to many millions of words. One of the most recent books on Islam published in Britain (Alfred Guillaume's ISLAM, 1954) devotes less than half a page to the Muslims of the Soviet Union and does not mention a single Russian work on the subject.

This ignorance of and indifference to the huge specialized literature produced in an empire whose dominions extend over more than one-third of the total territory of Asia is mainly due to the fact that most Western orientalist cannot read the Russian language. This means not only that they are unable to evaluate the work of Soviet orientalists, but that they are unaware of the general trend of oriental studies in the USSR and of the relation in which they stand to the Soviet Government and the Communist Party. Insofar as British orientalists have any views on the subject at all, they seem to fall into two groups: those who believe that scholarship knows no frontiers and that oriental studies are pursued in the USSR in the same spirit and with the same end in view as they are pursued in Britain; and those who assume that they are intended solely for propaganda purposes and therefore have no academic value whatever.

Anyone with a sufficient knowledge both of oriental studies as practised in Britain or any other western country, and of the Russian language to examine the journals and bulletins of the Institute of Oriental Studies in the Moscow Academy of Sciences, or of any other such institute in the USSR, can see at once that these journals have a conception of their subject quite different from that prevailing outside the Soviet bloc. In the first place the Russian words vostokovedeniye and vostokoved, usually taken to be equivalent to the English words 'oriental studies' and 'orientalist', in fact connote something much wider. Vostokoved in particular means a specialist on any aspect of eastern affairs and not simply 'one versed in oriental languages and literature', which is the meaning of 'orientalist' given in the Oxford Dictionary. Thus, vostokoved would in Russian be a perfectly correct description of an economist, agriculturist, or even journalist, who concerned himself mainly, or even only occasionally, with eastern affairs, but who knew nothing of eastern languages or cultures. In Britain no such person would think of himself as or expect to be called 'an orientalist'.

Once this semantic distinction is understood it is not surprising to find that vostokovedeniye in the USSR embraces a far wider field of activities than oriental studies does in Britain, or indeed in most countries of the West. The institutes of Oriental Studies in the USSR concern themselves not only with the ancient and modern history, literature, languages, philosophy, art, and economics of eastern peoples, but with projecting Soviet policy in relation to those peoples. To quote from an article on the forthcoming XXVth International Congress of Orientalists which appeared in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE No.6 of 1957, "Soviet oriental studies are characterized by a militant anti-colonialism which expresses itself in sharp, scientifically based criticism of the apologists of imperialism and racialism".

The same article recalled that the original reorganization of Soviet oriental studies in the 1930s consisted in "a retreat from the ideas of bourgeois orientalism, the assimilation of Marxist-Leninist methodology and the application of the theories of Marxism-Leninism to the study and solution of concrete oriental problems".

Although there are marked differences of aim, scope, inspiration and method between Soviet and Western oriental studies and although some of the preoccupations of Soviet orientalists do in fact run counter to the Western conception of scholarship, it does not thereby follow that Soviet orientology is lacking in academic value. On the contrary, in many branches of study Soviet productions on eastern subjects are well up to Western levels, and in a few, notably lexicography, ethnography, epigraphy, and in the translation of oriental literature, a good deal above them. In the elaboration and systematization of the many eastern languages used inside the USSR Soviet work is without parallel and has received all too little attention in the West. All these are subjects on which politics and ideology can hardly impinge; but the same cannot be said of history, which in the Soviet Union is inevitably written from the Marxist angle and takes a different view of facts from that currently held in the West.

Enough has perhaps been said to show that while Soviet oriental studies make a large, varied and valuable contribution to scholarship, they differ markedly from oriental studies as understood and practised in the West, notably in their scope, in the official direction to which they are constantly subjected, and in the ideology which informs writing in such important fields as history, economics, sociology and religion. In what manner this difference will make itself felt in Moscow in August 1960 still remains to be seen and will depend on a number of factors such as what impression the Soviet Government wishes to make on the non-Soviet world, both East and West, at that particular juncture. What has so far been published in the USSR about previous Congresses and about Soviet views on the nature of oriental studies in general makes it seem likely that there will be changes and that some of these will be directed against 'bourgeois' methodology. This would seem perfectly natural and proper, not to say essential, to those who direct Soviet studies, and it is all the more extraordinary that Soviet apologists abroad, in their eagerness to emphasize the propriety of Soviet intentions, should ignore the political significance which the Russians themselves openly and frankly attach to oriental studies and should be outraged at the suggestion that the Soviet Government may wish to make political use of the XXVth Congress when it meets in Moscow.

Notes

- (1) Soviet Oriental Studies: The Need for Further Development.  
CAR, Vol.III, No.3, pp.251-7.
  - (2) All-Union Conference of Orientalists at Tashkent.  
CAR, Vol.V, No.3, pp.258-70.
  - (3) Preparations for the XXVth International Congress of Orientalists  
- Leningrad 1960. CAR, Vol.VI, No.2, pp.152-5.
- 

Conference of Central Asian linguists

The first combined conference of the linguists of Central Asia and Kazakhstan dedicated to problems of "phraseology" (i.e. idiomatic expression) was opened in Samarkand on the 16th September. Scholars from Moscow, the Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaydzhan also took part.

The conference will work out a plan for combined work in the future and will organize a coordination centre to guide research in Uzbek "phraseology".  
pv. 18.9.59

Prehistoric remains in Uzbekistan

Traces of prehistoric animals were recently found near the village of Ravat in the Yagnob valley, Uzbekistan.

On the surface of a slab of sandstone tracks of carnivorous animals were found. The tracks had three or four toes and the foot measured 30 by 40cm.; the toes were 15-25cm. long and the animals' stride was 1.5-1.8 metres. Other tracks found were those of herbivorous animals - three-toed imprints measuring up to 35cm. in diameter, and traces of a group of animals with five toes and a foot of up to 45cm. in diameter. There were also imprints of large, four-toed paws with toes of up to 20cm. in length ending in small nails; it is supposed that they belong to flying lizards. The tracks were found in Jurassic strata.  
pv. 8.8.59

THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA :  
CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Part One

The Tsarist Period and the Soviet Period to 1941

The Tsarist government had little intention of educating the Central Asians and an important, though unspecified, dignitary declared, "I am not impressed by the wild dreams of philanthropists who want to civilize (ustroit') the Kirgiz [i.e. Kazakhs], to educate them and to raise them to the level of the European nations. I wish from the bottom of my heart that the Kirgiz forever remain nomad shepherds, never sow corn and have nothing to do with learning or even with craftsmanship."(1)

The traditional system of education in Central Asia was religious and the Russian government professed the principle that "the old Muslim school should be left alone".(2) In 1899 the maktabs (lower schools) of Turkestan had a total of 44,773 pupils. This meant that only a small percentage of boys was receiving education: thus in 1912 in the Fergana oblast only 0.5 per cent went to school, in the Samarkand oblast 0.9 and in the Syr-Dar'ya oblast 2 per cent.(3) The teachers were recruited from among the clergy and some of them could only read but not write. Their power over pupils was almost unlimited - according to Soviet writers they could maltreat them as they pleased, short of inflicting death. For example, deep wounds might be cut on the back or heels of the children and covered with salt - as a form of punishment.(4) Instruction consisted in teaching the Arabic alphabet, after which the pupils proceeded to study religious texts written chiefly in Persian and Arabic. The pupils repeated them aloud after the teacher and no attempt was made to understand them, with the result that a pupil leaving the maktab after a period of five or six years was often unable even to read.

Higher education was provided by the madrasah which trained Muslim clergy and specialists in Islamic law. These two schools did not encourage independent thinking, nor did the reformed "Dzhadid" (Jadid) maktabs. The Dzhadids are classified by Soviet authors as members of the new Muslim bourgeoisie. As regards education, their plan was to introduce some secular instruction into the maktabs and at the same time to preserve their religious character. Their periodicals, TARAQQI (Progress), SHUHRAT (News)

and SHURA (Counsel) propagated their educational ideas. These ideas were specified by SHURA as follows: "Those who, having mastered the religious knowledge, embark on a clerical career, should be thoroughly acquainted with the principles of religion and have a previous knowledge of secular subjects. This is particularly important at a time when the problems of marriage, divorce and inheritance are dealt with by the imams. All this demands a good knowledge of disciplines such as economics and sociology."(5) Thus the object of the reformed schools was to employ secular education in the service of religion and only five hours a week out of the total of twenty-five were devoted to secular subjects.

Apart from the religious schools there were the "Russo-native" schools concerned with training interpreters for the local administration. They taught Russian, elementary arithmetic, history and geography as well as Muslim religious knowledge. In the whole of Turkestan there were 28 of them in 1896, rising to 98 in 1909.(6)

In Kazakhstan the authorities organized "simple, cheap schools of Russian literacy" for the natives. These were aul and volost schools with two- and four-year courses respectively, as well as schools with a course lasting six years in the uyezd centres.

Finally, there were Russian schools, the same as in European Russia; but the number of their native pupils was negligible. For example, in Tashkent in 1896 ten boys and eight girls were attending the local grammar schools, while the Tashkent teachers' training college between 1879-1904 had but 65 Central Asians among its 415 graduates.(7)

Printing in the vernacular was very limited. Before the Revolution nothing had been printed in Turkmen, while Kazakh and Tadzhik books were extremely rare and were printed outside those countries. In Uzbekistan the situation was better: in the 1880s in Khorezm and Tashkent the first books were printed in Uzbek and Tadzhik. In 1883 the weekly supplement to the official Russian newspaper, TURKESTANSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, which had appeared in Uzbek and Kazakh, developed into an independent Uzbek weekly, TURKISTON VILOYATINING GAZETI.

The degree of literacy was extremely low. In Kazakhstan only 2 per cent of the native population were literate; in Turkestan the figure was 1.8 per cent, with interesting local variations: while in Kirgizia it varied between 1-2 per cent, in Turkmenistan it was but 0.7 per cent and in Tadzhikistan only one person in two hundred was literate.(8)

The post-revolutionary period in Central Asia was marked by chaos prevailing in all aspects of its life including education. The Soviet authorities realized the advisability of educating the Central Asians and one of the most important considerations was political. In this connexion a particularly interesting article by S. Dimanshteyn on the education of Soviet national minorities appeared in NOVYY VOSTOK in 1929. Apparently written by a Communist, it has the air of a frank discussion of the problem, which compares favourably with the dogmatism and stereotyped phraseology of later Soviet publications. The author says: "All the main border regions of the Soviet Union are inhabited by non-Russian peoples. . . The safety of our frontiers depends not only on the strength of the Red Army but also on the loyalty of the frontier population to the Soviet Government. In this field much can be achieved by a correct nationalities policy, i.e. one whose task is to unite these nationalities into a single whole. This will strengthen and stabilize our frontiers and decrease the danger of war." Economic development of these regions, involving the need for native specialists, was designed to serve the same purpose: "From the economic point of view, industrialization of these republics as well as their fuel and raw material resources, are moulding our Union into a single organism able to build socialism irrespective of any aid from more developed regions and even in spite of the aspirations of the capitalist world seeking to isolate us and to check our development." These considerations make special demands upon the character of the education of the minorities: "The problem must not be limited to international education within the republics; the task is to bring about national rapprochement of all the nations of the USSR. Our school textbooks must be suitably imbued with international spirit." (9) In other words, the Central Asians owe their education to motives more substantial than a mere friendly disposition of the Russian people towards them.

The task of replacing the various pre-revolutionary schools in Central Asia with a uniform education system was formidable. The greatest difficulty was presented by the lack of teachers since employing the maktab masters was out of the question. There were cases of men who worked as lecturers while themselves studying to become teachers. For example, Kary-Niyazov says that while in 1918 he was headmaster of a school at Fergana, he took mathematics lessons from the headmaster of the local Russian school and at the same time acted as a lecturer in mathematics at teachers' training courses. (10) Such courses were organized for people who were literate and politically sound; but the result was disappointing since a large number of the teachers were of a very poor intellectual and political standard. To remedy this, the Turkestan National Commissariat of Education carried out in 1923 an examination of teachers in order to determine their professional qualifications. The teachers were divided into eight categories with a careful distinction between their intellectual and political merits - thus to the fourth category belonged people with a satisfactory educational background but requiring political training, and to the eighth "unworthy elements" who were to be dis-

missed. The political examination of Kirgiz teachers was based on the "political minimum as presented by Kovalenko's book POLITGRAMOTA (Political Catechism)".(11) But the purge did not help much and as late as 1929 NOVYY VOSTOK complained that in many republics the "insufficiently literate" masters constituted 70-80 per cent of all teachers and that many of those who had finished the six-month courses were not even familiar with elementary arithmetic.(12)

The situation was still bad in the years following the introduction of compulsory elementary education in 1930, though by then Central Asian training colleges were producing teachers who had received a more thorough training than those prepared by the six-month courses. The situation in Uzbekistan may be quoted as an example: some geography masters of Tashkent thought there were between three and seven continents in the world and, confronted with a map, they took the Aral Sea for the Mediterranean. The headmaster of a school at Balakandab, when asked what teaching methods he knew, answered, "I follow the polytechnic, excursion, and cotton-picking as well as the reading and writing methods".(13)

Another difficulty was that until the early 1930s there were no standard textbooks. The situation was not so bad in the Russian schools in Central Asia, which could use the books published in Russia proper, but the native schools used books which were full of "ideological and scientific errors" and contaminated with nationalist propaganda. Reform started when in 1933 the Central Committee of the Party issued the resolution concerning the elementary and middle school textbooks. The republican authorities drew up plans of producing the textbooks but it gave no immediate results - for example, in 1934 it was officially stated in Uzbekistan that by the 1st May only five textbooks out of the planned 114 had been published. By the autumn of the same year 37 books saw the light, but some of them were full of various errors including spelling mistakes.(14) These and other shortcomings were responsible for many difficulties in the work of the schools; for example, the "enemies of the people" seriously disturbed the teaching of Russian. These enemies were accounted to be the schoolmasters who deliberately neglected the teaching of Russian, hindered the training of teachers of that language and even interfered with the publication of textbooks. A "liquidation of sabotage in the system of national education" followed and it is claimed that the teaching of Russian benefited as a result(15), but, as will be seen in Part Two\* of this article, it even now leaves much to be desired although it is certain that no "enemies of the people" could have had a chance to survive until the present time.

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\* Part Two of this article, "The Soviet Period Since 1945", will appear in the next number of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW.

The teaching of the native languages and literatures are said to have suffered from two groups of evil characters: one was constituted by the bourgeois-nationalist teachers who were not familiar with the new Latin alphabet and engaged in campaigns in favour of the Arabic alphabet, propagated among the pupils harmful nationalist books and did not acquaint them with the works of "progressive" authors; the other group were teachers innocent of any sinister designs and simply ignorant so far as their subject was concerned.

A serious difficulty in the years following the revolution was that there were hardly any buildings fit to be used as schools. Though Kary-Niyazov assures the reader that "the Soviet authorities generously reserved for schools the better buildings in towns and villages"(16), NOVYY VOSTOK unequivocally states that some schools were only "fit for cattle" and that "very few new schools were being built and sometimes mosques were converted into schools", though from the point of view of hygiene they were totally unsuitable; this makes one wonder "whether there is a school at all, whether what there is could possibly be described as school, and whether this type of teacher could be called teacher".(17)

In order to make education more general, not only "reactionary" elements had to be suppressed but also parents re-educated, for protests against boys and girls studying together as well as against the education of girls were common. The situation was made still worse by the interference of bays, bourgeois-nationalists and other "enemies of the people" who "spread all sorts of provocative gossip against the Soviet school, and beat up pupils and their parents. . ." But in spite of all the difficulties the new school system expanded rapidly and by the later 1920s the old religious schools had died out. Whether this was due to the fact that they "had lost their authority in the eyes of the toiling masses" or, simply to the persecution of the clergy is difficult to say.(18)



The growth of the Soviet school is borne out by the following figures provided by the GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, 2nd edition:

Republic	Date	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Per cent of native pupils
Kazakhstan	1920-1	2,410	144,000	over 30 about 40
	1927	3,944	274,000	
	1932-3	6,869	576,000	
	1951-2	8,945	1,346,000	
Kirgizia	1930	1,159	100,000	
	1952	1,627	315,000	
Turkmenistan	1924	170	16,900	
	1955	1,184	224,721	
Uzbekistan	1924-5	908	75,543	
	1940-1	4,838	1,306,100	
Tadzhikistan	1924-5	66	3,759	
	1954-5	2,529	320,552	

In the 1920s technical schools began to appear in Central Asia as part of the campaign for the "victory of Socialism", i.e. industrialization. They were accompanied by various research institutes. The growth of universities was much slower: the Central Asian University in Tashkent was founded in 1920; in 1933 a university was set up in Samarkand, in 1934 in Alma-Ata, in 1948 in Stalinabad, in 1950 in Ashkhabad and in 1951 in Frunze; but various higher education establishments existed before the majority of the universities appeared.

The expansion of the Soviet school alone was insufficient to strengthen Soviet influence on the Central Asians. The liquidation of illiteracy among the adult population was also a political necessity according to Lenin. In his own words, "so long as such a problem as illiteracy exists in our country, the discussion of political enlightenment is too difficult. . . The illiterate man is outside politics. . ." (19) In December 1920 the Regional Extraordinary Commission for Combating Illiteracy was set up and similar commissions appeared in the provinces. Special courses were organiz-

ed throughout the country; their popularity may be inferred from the fact that in January 1921, in Tashkent alone 100 such courses were started. By the end of 1923 there were 29 courses with 870 students in Kirgizia.(20) The spread of literacy was stimulated by the introduction of compulsory elementary education in 1930 and by 1936 as much as 70 per cent of the adult population of Kirgizia were literate.(21)

The campaign against illiteracy was assisted by the growth of the vernacular press and printing. The first Tadzhik newspaper, OVOZI TODZHIK (The Voice of the Tadzhiks) started publication in 1924; in the following year the Tadzhik State Publishing House was founded and from that date the publication of books and periodicals rapidly increased. In 1925 Uzbekistan had 26 newspapers but the number of Uzbek papers is not given; in 1927, 831 books were published, as compared with 9 in 1917.(22) By 1925 two newspapers and three magazines, two of them in Turkmen, were being published in Turkmenistan; printing in Turkmen had started in 1921 and school books together with political pamphlets were the earliest publications in that language. In 1924 the first Kirgiz newspaper, ERKIN-TOO (Free Mountains) appeared and two years later it was followed by the earliest Kirgiz books. As for Kazakhstan, it seems that the earliest vernacular newspapers were KEDEY SYUZI published at Omsk, KAZAKH TLI at Semipalatinsk, KZYL TU at Ural'sk, and some other oblast papers.

These developments were accompanied by the russification of the native languages. The "Soviet-international" words which have "enriched" the Central Asian languages can be roughly divided into two groups: those connected with the sciences and the words concerned with the Soviet version of political and economic life (kolkhoz, party, bolshevik, agitator etc.). Uzbekistan may be taken as an example and the following passage reveals clearly - though perhaps unintentionally - the aims of Soviet linguistic policy:

"The bourgeois-nationalists littered the Uzbek language with various Arabic, Persian and Turkish words which were unintelligible to the masses. At the same time they struggled against borrowing from Russian, which in fact was the nearest language to the Uzbek people owing to political, economic and cultural conditions. But the Uzbek language continued to free itself from Arabic and Persian words which were foreign to it, and to enrich itself by borrowing from Russian. . .

"According to the researches of Professor A.K. Borovkov, the results of which were published on 15th March 1923 in the newspaper ZERAVSHAN, the percentage of words of Arabic and Persian origin was then 37.4 while those of Soviet-international and Russian origin constituted but 2 per cent. Four years later, in 1927, an Uzbek-Russian dictionary was

published; according to this, the number of Arabic and Persian words had sunk to 28.6 per cent, while that of Soviet-international and Russian words increased to 4.07 per cent. Yet after seven years, in 1934, the words of Arabic and Persian origin constituted but 12 per cent of all the words used in four issues of a republican newspaper, KZYL UZBEKISTAN."(23)

Another important feature of the policy of isolating Central Asia from the Islamic world were the two changes of the alphabet. In 1928-9 the Latin alphabet replaced the Arabic in spite of violent protests of the "enemies of the people". But this did not help the Central Asians to feel that they were members of an international state and in 1939-40 the Cyrillic alphabet ousted the Latin. This step was justified in Uzbekistan in the following words:

"The Uzbek language is enriched every year with new words which have been produced by the Soviet epoch. The existing Latin alphabet is no longer in line with the development of the language and it is in fact an obstacle to the further development of the culture of the Uzbek people. The new alphabet will make it possible to establish an orderly system of Uzbek orthography and thereby to eradicate the existing confusion. Moreover, the unification of the alphabet will improve our printing facilities".(24)

Another advantage was that this use of the Cyrillic alphabet would make the study of Russian easier for native school children. The practical result of this measure will be discussed in Part Two of this article.

Soviet authorities are extremely sensitive to any criticism on the subject of cultural developments in Central Asia, particularly where these relate to the russification of local languages and the learning of Russian. A detailed answer to such criticism was pronounced by a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Rakhimbabayeva, at a republican conference devoted to the problem of teaching Uzbek at schools held in Tashkent in August 1957: "Let various gentlemen abroad say what they like about our study of the Russian language," she said, "the dogs bark, but the caravan moves on."(25)

By the beginning of the Second World War the development of the new Soviet-Russian culture was far advanced in Central Asia. The educational system had managed to overcome many of its initial difficulties and the battle against illiteracy was almost won. In Part Two of this article an attempt will be made to point to some of the ways in which the new standard

and impersonal culture is imposing itself on the life of the peoples of Central Asia and is substituting uniformity for variety.

Notes

- (1) KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 25.9.58.
- (2) OCHERKI ISTORII KUL'TURY SOVETSKOGO UZBEKISTANA. T.N. Kary-Niyazov, Moscow, 1955. p.55.
- (3) Ibid., pp.56, 60.
- (4) Ibid., p.58.
- (5) OCHERKI PO ISTORII SOVETSKOY SHKOLY V KIRGIZII ZA 40 LET (1917-1957 GG.). A.E. Izmailov, Frunze, 1957. p.14.
- (6) Kary-Niyazov, p.65.
- (7) Ibid., p.66.
- (8) GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, 2nd edn.; Kary-Niyazov, p.60.
- (9) NOVYY VOSTOK, 1929, p.xlvii.
- (10) Kary-Niyazov, p.140.
- (11) Izmailov, p.83.
- (12) NOVYY VOSTOK, p.xxxviii.
- (13) IZ ISTORII STROITEL'STVA SOVETSKOY SHKOLY V UZBEKISTANE. S. Radzhabov, Tashkent, 1957. p.32.
- (14) Ibid., p.45.
- (15) Ibid., pp.41-42.
- (16) Kary-Niyazov, p.139.
- (17) NOVYY VOSTOK, p.xxxviii.
- (18) Kary-Niyazov, pp.136, 158.
- (19) Ibid., p.151.

- (20) Izmailov, p.108.
- (21) GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, 2nd edn. Vol.21, p.92.
- (22) Ibid., Vd.44, p.30.
- (23) Radzhabov, pp.106-7.
- (24) Ibid., p.116.
- (25) PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 31.8.57.

#### Oxford students visit Central Asia

Members of Ruskin College, Oxford, recently visited Central Asia. In an interview with the Uzbek Telegraph Agency, N.D. Harry, the leader of the delegation said that from what he had read in the West about Uzbekistan he gained the impression that it was a backward corner of the Soviet Union. He now saw that this was far from the truth and that Uzbekistan had undergone large-scale changes. The students left Tashkent for Moscow on the 25th September.

PV. 26.9.59

#### Tunisian historian visits Uzbekistan

Abdul Wahhab, the Tunisian historian, arrived in Tashkent on the 26th September. He will spend several days acquainting himself with the work of the various institutes of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences.

PV. 27.9.59

#### Study of air-streams over the Karakum desert

A scientific expedition of over 70 members from the A.I. Voyeykov Main Geophysical Observatory left Leningrad for Tashkent on 29th August to study vertical air-streams over the Karakum desert. The expedition has been equipped with an aeroplane and a helicopter.

PV. 30.8.59

THE REVOLUTION OF 1905-7  
IN TURKMENISTAN

The fourth volume of WORKS OF THE INSTITUTE OF HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences, published at Ashkhabad in 1958\*, is devoted to the history of the 1905-7 revolution, with a special reference to Turkmenistan. Two of the articles it contains are concerned respectively with the influence of those events in Russia on the peoples of the non-Russian East and those in Turkmenistan on Persia. The other three are of a special interest to students of Central Asian affairs, not only because they give between them a fairly clear picture of the revolution in Turkmenistan and, apart from the customary deference to Soviet leaders, propaganda does not seem to be their chief object, but also because the information they contain is well documented, though apparently only in so far as it agrees with their authors' conception of the subject. The first of them, "The Revolutionary Movement in Turkmenistan (Transcaspian Oblast) in 1905-1907" by Yu.M. Tarasov, gives a general account of the subject and it thus serves as an introduction to the articles which follow. The next two are concerned with special aspects of the movement. One is M. Annanepesov's "Social Democratic Propaganda and Agitation among the Soldiers of Turkmenistan Garrisons during the Revolutionary Years 1905-1907", and the other is "The Mutiny of the Soldiers of the Ashkhabad Garrison in 1906" by E. Kuprikova. They contain a good deal of repetition, which could hardly be avoided in view of the fact that their subjects overlap and that each of them has been done by a different author. They are supplemented by two sets of source material: one, with an introduction by B. Kurbanov, relates to the strike of the workers of the Central Asian Railway in November-December 1905 and the other, introduced by G.B. Akopov, to the strike of the Caspian sailors at Krasnovodsk in the spring of 1907.

Tarasov's article starts at the very beginning - with the customary list of advantages which Turkmenistan derived from the progressive act of its "incorporation" into Russia. One of those benefits was that the Turkmen could join in the "revolutionary struggle of the Russian working-class in Russia proper and her borderlands".(p.5) This statement is of special interest to historians of Central Asia; but if subsequently Tarasov

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\* TRUDY INSTITUTA ISTORII ARKHEOLOGII I ETHNOGRAFI, Vol.IV, Ashkhabad, 1958.

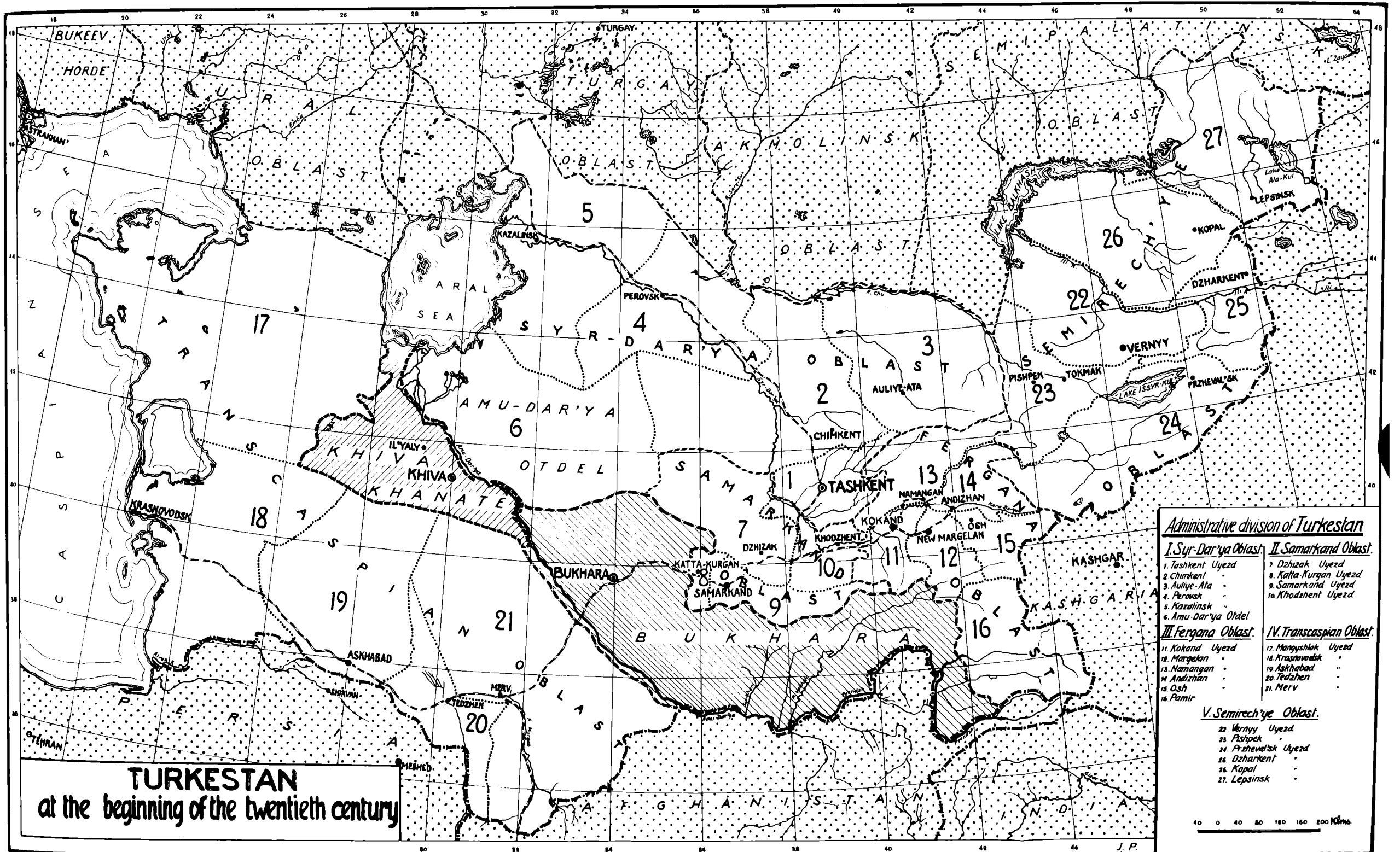
does not exactly contradict it, he also does very little to justify it. From what he says one could safely infer that the 1905-7 disturbances in Turkmenistan were a movement confined to the local Russian proletariat.

The working-class of Turkmenistan was unorganized: "In 1905 in the Transcaspian oblast there were ten cotton-ginning plants, four oil-mills and soap factories, one salt plant and one brick factory, a wool-washing establishment, one confectionery, five factories for the manufacture of mineral water, and four steam mills"(p.6). The workers of the Central Asian (Trans-Caspian) Railway constituted the largest and most politically united group.

"The conditions of work in Tsarist Russia, and even more in her colonies one of which was the Transcaspian oblast, were very hard. The working day lasted 12-13 hours and wages were low. Until 1914 there was no factory inspection in the Transcaspian oblast."

Apart from workers, another compact mass of the Russians in the country was the army. There were some 30,000 soldiers in Transcaspia; the majority of them belonged to the Turkestan Second Army Corps and they were concentrated in towns and fortresses: Ashkhabad, Merv, Kerki, Kushka, Chardzhuy, Krasnovodsk, Serakhs and others. "The conditions of life and work of the troops were incredibly hard: cheating, bribery, threats etc. were used to keep the soldiers in the most complete subordination and ignorance. They were used for a variety of jobs such as building, haymaking and anti-locust campaigns, and the money they earned disappeared into the officers' pockets. That the soldier was without any rights was evident everywhere: they were usually referred to as "lower ranks" and officers called them "grey cattle" or "saintly cattle". They were forbidden to visit parks and clubs in towns as well as meetings and other gatherings. . . . The great majority of the men were illiterate because the Tsarist army was recruited from among the most backward groups of the peasantry; they were deliberately selected in such a way as to reject, kill and suppress all that was fresh and vigorous. Thus the state of literacy among the men of the Turkestan Second Army Corps on the 1st of January 1910 is summarized by the following figures: totally illiterate - 3,805, those who could only read badly - 8,473. Here one must remember that the Tsarist army authorities always considerably reduced such figures and that the above figures refer to the year 1910 while during the revolutionary years 1905-1907 the degree of literacy among the soldiers was considerably smaller."(Pp.28-29.) Sickness involving epidemic diseases and mortality was high among the troops. There was national discrimination since the Transcaspian army consisted of Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Georgians, Armenians and men from the Baltic regions.

Socially there was much difference between the various units: rifle battalions and other field units consisted of peasants while the railway, sapper and signal units were recruited from among young workers and so were



**Administrative division of Turkestan**

**I. Syr-Daryya Oblast. II. Samarkand Oblast.**

- 1. Tashkent Uyezd
- 2. Chirchik Uyezd
- 3. Auliye-Ata Uyezd
- 4. Perovsk Uyezd
- 5. Kazalinsk Uyezd
- 6. Amu-Dar'ya Otdel
- 7. Dzhizak Uyezd
- 8. Katta-Kurgan Uyezd
- 9. Samarkand Uyezd
- 10. Khodzhen Uyezd

**III. Fergana Oblast. IV. Transcaspian Oblast.**

- 11. Kokand Uyezd
- 12. Margelan Uyezd
- 13. Namangan Uyezd
- 14. Andizhan Uyezd
- 15. Osh Uyezd
- 16. Pamir Uyezd
- 17. Mangyshlak Uyezd
- 18. Krasnovodsk Uyezd
- 19. Ashkhabad Uyezd
- 20. Tedzhen Uyezd
- 21. Merv Uyezd

**V. Semirech'ye Oblast.**

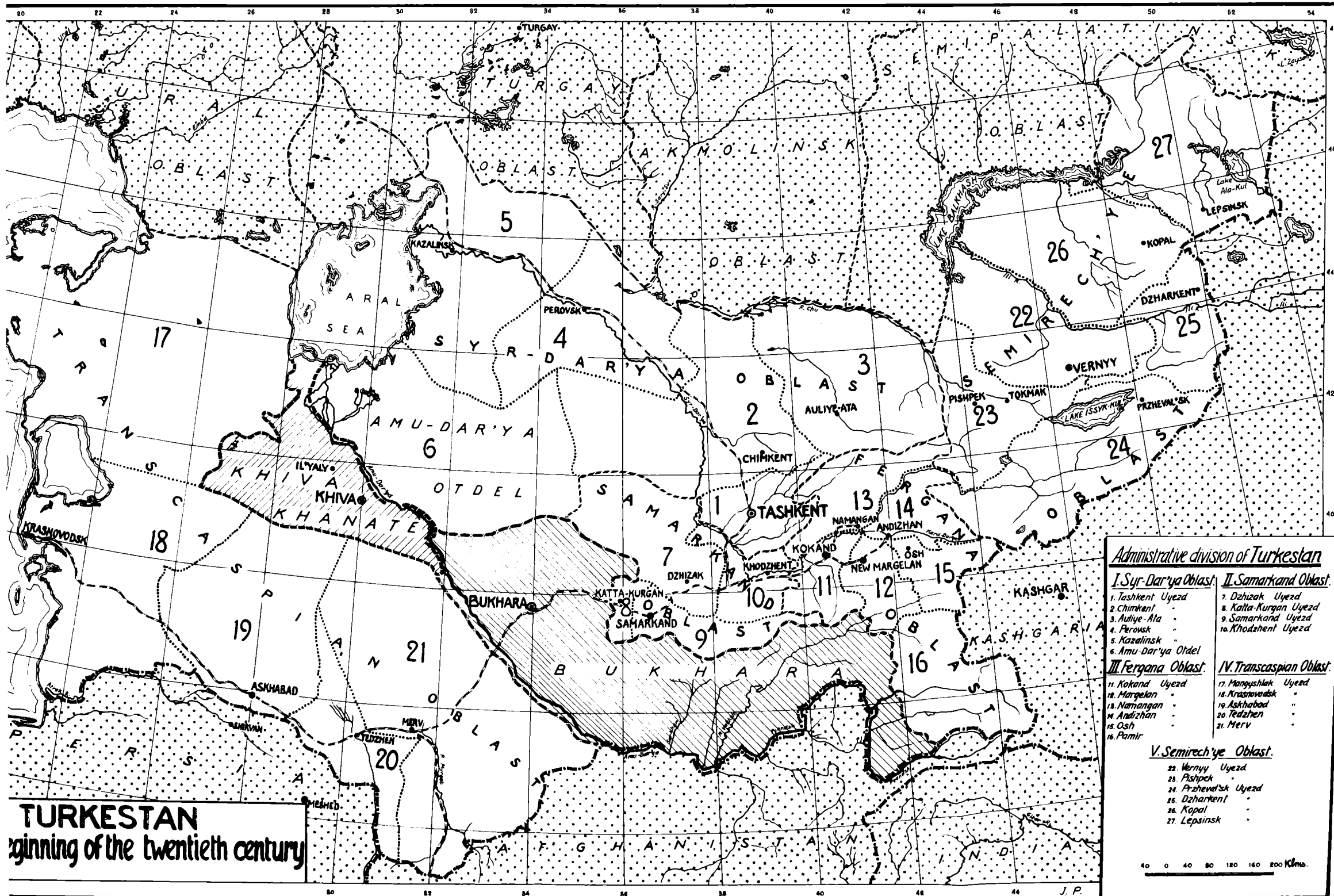
- 22. Vernyy Uyezd
- 23. Pishpek Uyezd
- 24. Przhewalsk Uyezd
- 25. Dzharkent Uyezd
- 26. Kopal Uyezd
- 27. Lepsinsk Uyezd

0 40 80 120 160 200 Kms.

**TURKESTAN**  
at the beginning of the twentieth century

Based on map in *Revolutsiya 1905 - 1907 godov v Turkestane*, by A. V. Pyaskovskiy (Moscow, 1958).





- Administrative division of Turkestan*
- I. Syr-Dar'ya Oblast:**
1. Tashkent Uyezd
  2. Chimkent
  3. Auliye-Ata
  4. Perovsk
  5. Kazalinsk
  6. Amu-Dar'ya Otdel
- II. Samarkand Oblast:**
7. Dzhizak Uyezd
  8. Katta-Kurgan Uyezd
  9. Samarkand Uyezd
  10. Khodzhen Uyezd
- III. Fergana Oblast:**
11. Kokand Uyezd
  12. Margelan
  13. Namangan
  14. Andizhan
  15. Osh
  16. Pamir
- IV. Transcaspian Oblast:**
17. Mangyshlak Uyezd
  18. Krasnovodsk
  19. Ashkhabad
  20. Tedzhen
  21. Merv
- V. Semirech'ye Oblast:**
22. Vernyy Uyezd
  23. Pishpek
  24. Przheval'sk Uyezd
  25. Dzharhent
  26. Kopal
  27. Lepsinsk

Based on map in *Revolyutsiya 1905 - 1907 godov v Turkestane*, by A. V. Pyaskovskiy (Moscow, 1958).

more prone to revolutionary propaganda.

The hard conditions in the army prepared the way for revolutionary propaganda. Its success was largely due to the fact that the Tsarist government banished to Turkestan politically undesirable elements and made them join the army or otherwise stay at a fixed place under police supervision. In 1903-4 alone 67 men were sent to Turkestan, of whom the majority had been engaged in receiving and spreading illegal revolutionary literature. In the middle of 1905 there were 27 such men in the army units stationed at Kushka and Krasnovodsk(p.30). But "the propagation of social democratic ideas amongst the soldiers started comparatively later than among the Transcaspian workers. Marxist-Leninist propaganda in the towns of Turkmenistan expanded immediately after the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party [1903] by means of leaflets supplied from Baku, but we have hardly any documentary evidence which would allow us authoritatively to state that it likewise increased among the soldiers."(Pp.30-31.) The first social democratic leaflets appeared among them and the Amu-Dar'ya sailors in 1904.

The highlights of the disturbances of 1905-7 in Turkmenistan are two big strikes - the railway workers in November-December 1905 and the Krasnovodsk sailors and dockers in March-April 1907 - and one mutiny, that of the soldiers of the Ashkhabad garrison in June 1906. All these men demanded better conditions of work and it seems doubtful whether their activities, at least at their early stage, can be properly described as revolutionary. It seems that the only ground to do so was the fact that they were skilfully exploited by the Social Democrats, who supplied them with anti-government slogans and other accessories of a communist revolution. On the other hand even the Tsarist government, possibly misled by similar events taking part in politically more advanced regions of the Russian Empire, right from the start identified the disturbances in Transcaspia as a revolutionary movement. Thus in July 1905 the Governor-General of Turkestan reported, "the disturbances taking place in the central provinces and Transcaucasia are responsible for the fact that the Transcaspian oblast and particularly Ashkhabad have gradually developed into a large and undoubtedly dangerous centre of revolutionary activities. . . the revolutionaries maintain constant and apparently well-organized relations with the treasonable associations of Baku"(p.49).

After the events of 9th January 1905 at St.Petersburg the Transcaspian branch of the Social Democratic Party (RSDRP) grew increasingly active. On 12th January copies of a proclamation of the RSDRP condemning war and autocracy were dropped at the door of the office of the governor of the Transcaspian oblast. From now onwards events moved slowly towards the railway strike. In April-May the Social Democrats sponsored the strike of shop assistants at Ashkhabad, who demanded an eight-hour working day, Sundays off, a month's holiday a year and a month's salary in case of illness. May Day

was celebrated with mass meetings at Kizyl-Arvat and Ashkhabad. At the latter place the Social Democrats organized a meeting in the Tekeh orchards (tekinskiye sady) outside the town; it was attended mainly by workers and soldiers and the speakers demanded destruction of autocracy. In July the funeral of a Social Democrat, Stabrovskiy, who had died in the Ashkhabad prison, was accompanied by a political demonstration. From this time the distribution of revolutionary leaflets and posters in the towns grew more frequent. In August a strike of the workers of the railway depot at Ashkhabad followed; they demanded their overdue wages. At the same time propaganda among the troops was more efficiently organized when a Social Democratic committee was set up at Ashkhabad for that purpose. It skilfully endowed the common grievances of the soldiers with a political flavour to turn them against the Government; a typical example of this method is the leaflet K SOLDATAM (An Address to the Soldiers) which the committee issued on 28th August.

The disturbances in Transcaspia reached their highest point in October-November when the railway and other workers joined the all-Russian strike. It started on 14th October with the strike of the Ashkhabad railway workers and pupils of the railway college. The workers submitted to General Ul'yanin, the head of the Central Asian Railway, their demands for an eight-hour working day and freedom of speech, press and assembly. The strike was accompanied by meetings and demonstrations carefully fostered by the Social Democrats and joined by large groups of soldiers. Between 20th-22nd October the students of the Ashkhabad technical college and secondary schools (gimnazisty) joined the strikers; the parents of the latter demanded that the headmaster and the inspector of the boys' and the headmistress of the girls' schools should be dismissed on the ground that they taught children to be spies.

On 26th October the railway strike ended and, apart from minor incidents, the following three weeks were relatively quiet. But on 15th-16th November General Sakharov had the soldiers of the Tashkent Reserve Battalion, who had rebelled at Tashkent fortress, shot and this provoked a new wave of disturbances. Kurbanov uses curious phrases which are probably designed to convey some subtle difference between the two phases of the autumn uprising - the "October general strike" (stachka) and the "November general political strike" (zabastovka) (p.113). The latter was not limited to the Central Asian Railway but extended to the Orenburg-Tashkent Line and represented the highest point of the 1905-7 disturbances in Turkestan. In Transcaspia the strike was headed by the central committee of the Union of Workers and Employees of the Central Asian Railway. Its character is somewhat mysterious; while Kurbanov says that its members were derived mainly from petty bourgeoisie willing to co-operate with the authorities and he denounces it for having brought the strike to a premature end on 3rd December (pp.115-18), Tarasov admits that in the committee there were many Mensheviks who ended the strike in order to avoid an armed rebellion, but otherwise he gives no

indication that they wished to please the authorities and admits that they did useful work by encouraging the railwaymen of the Transcaspian towns to join the strikers (pp.17-19). In fact they were joined by some groups of workers and the soldiers of Kushka.

The 3rd of December was followed by a wave of repressions against the strikers. From now onwards the revolution had little chance of success for after the failure of the December insurrection in Russia proper "autocracy and the bourgeoisie started an offensive against the proletariat and peasantry" (p.19). But on the 9th of January 1906 there was a one-day strike at Ashkhabad and ten days later the workers of the Ashkhabad and Kizyl-Arvat depots on their own initiative introduced an eight-hour working day. In March the Transcaspian railwaymen refused to take part in the elections to the first Duma, on the ground that the Duma had almost no legislative powers, the existing system of voting did not allow real representatives of the people to be elected and the Tsar's autocracy remained unchanged. In July another important event of the revolutionary years in Transcaspia took place - the mutiny of over 6,000 soldiers of the Ashkhabad garrison. The immediate occasion was provided by a summary court-martial (batal'onnyy sud) which had sentenced three men to be sent to a disciplinary battalion. The rebels submitted to their commander a list of 35 demands directed against the numerous abuses from which the soldiers suffered.

After the mutiny a period of relative peace followed. One of the last episodes of the revolutionary years was the strike of the Krasnovodsk sailors in the spring of 1907, which was part of the general strike of the Caspian merchant fleet belonging to a number of companies. The men were seeking to improve their conditions of life and work, for the length of the working day was not fixed so that they were made to perform extra jobs without pay both on board ship and in the private homes of their superiors, their wages were very small and they had no holidays or Sundays off. Beginning on 10th March, the strike was joined by the Krasnovodsk dockers and lasted nearly two months; it was led by the Social Democratic committee at Baku.

. . .

It is interesting to examine to what extent, if at all, the Turkmens participated in the events of 1905-7. Apparently it is de rigueur to state that they wholeheartedly joined the movement. Tarasov remembers this rule and this is why his account of the alleged revolutionary activities of the Turkmens is self-contradictory. First he gives a brief account of the oppression they suffered under the Tsars: they were forced to surrender some of their land to colonists, cheated and exploited by officialdom; at the same time "the Tsarist Government. . . always safeguarded the medieval,

archaic structure of the aul and the domination of feudal and clan notables" (p.6). The native population of the Transcaspian oblast "had no political rights. Tsarism also suppressed the development of schools and the vernacular press. The people were almost totally illiterate"(p.7).

The natural conclusion to be derived from this is that "the difficult situation of the worker and peasant masses of Turkmenistan caused them to join the struggle against Tsarism and the bourgeoisie. . . Under the influence of the workers' movement unrest started among the Turkmen peasants". Whether it in fact owed anything to the inspiration of the local Russians is difficult to say; the fact is that in February 1904 the peasant members of one of the Yamut tribes in the Krasnovodsk uyezd refused to pay their overdue taxes and in the following June the Yamuts of the Atabay No.2 obshchestvo (? community) declined to supply 870 saddled camels with drivers as the authorities required. These two incidents make Tarasov draw the following conclusion: "In this way the Turkmen people joined together with the Russian proletariat in the revolutionary movement". But subsequently he gives very weak evidence to prove this statement. One infers from his article that at the time when the movement was at its height in the Transcaspian oblast, that is in October–November 1905, the Turkmen were quiet. Only by the end of the year does the spirit of unrest seem to have communicated itself to the Yamuts – on 29th December it was reported to General Subotich, the Governor-General of Turkestan, that lively propaganda had been started among the Yamuts; he issued orders that the agitators should be suppressed and counter-propaganda should be entrusted to people familiar with the native language(pp.23–24). It is unknown how far this reflected the true situation in the auls but the quality of this propaganda makes one wonder about the alleged comradeship existing between the Yamuts and the revolutionary Russian proletariat. Only in 1906 did the Turkmen hear a highly fantastic version of what was going on and rumour started in the auls of the Krasnovodsk uyezd, inhabited by the Yamuts, that "some large tribe in Russia called Muzhik sent spokesmen to the brother of the White Tsar to tell him that they were not pleased with the government. . . but the brother of the White Tsar drove them out and sent troops to punish their people. So now in Russia war is going on between the Tsar's army and the Muzhik"(p.24). This story certainly does not point to the presence of revolutionary agitators in the auls. Another would-be revolutionary was one Khalsakhat Komek-ogly of Koyne Kasir aul who advised the elders of two obshchestvos to stop extorting loans from the people because there were disturbances in Russia and it was possible that the authorities would shortly stop demanding the loans. The same man betrayed sympathy with the real or imagined desire of some Turkmen obshchestvos for the distribution of the local kyarendnyye lands among landless families.

Tarasov has advanced this flimsy evidence, which is moreover limited to a single Turkmen tribe, in order to lend substance to his theory of the Turkmen participation in the revolution. But his case is seriously weakened by a contradiction: first he states that "during the first Russian revolution the

Social Democratic organizations in the Transcaspian oblast had only weak connections with the Turkmen daykhans"(p.23); and then as one of the reasons for the failure of the revolution he gives the fact that "the uprising of the workers was not supported by the daykhans in the auls"(p.27).

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#### Train-ferry service between Baku and Krasnovodsk

A train-ferry service is to be opened between Baku and Krasnovodsk for which the necessary shore installations are at present being built.

The ships used will have a displacement of about 2,250 tons and will be able to take 30 four-axle or 56 two-axle railway coaches and provide accommodation for 300 passengers. The round trip, including loading and unloading, will be three times faster than in the present passenger ships.

TI. 26.8.59

#### Atomic energy in Uzbekistan

The Uzbek atomic reactor, reported in CAR, Vol.VII, No.3, p.212, was put into operation on the 10th September 1959. It is merely the first stage of the "atomic town" being built by the Uzbek Institute of Nuclear Physics not far from Tashkent near the village of Kilbray. Of the equipment which is to be installed later the largest item will be a cyclotron of the most modern construction. There will also be a neutron laboratory and a grading tower.

A conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy will open in Tashkent on the 28th September.

PV. 11, 16, 17.9.59

T H E   F I R S T   R U S S I A N   E M B A S S Y  
T O   T A S H K E N T

The following is a summary of an article by Yu.A. Sokolov, which appeared under the above title in VOPROSY ISTORII, 1959, No.3.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Khiva and Bukhara were the only centres of the Uzbek Khanates to be visited by Russian ambassadors. The first Russian embassy to Tashkent arrived in 1796, thus establishing diplomatic relations between Russia and the rulers of that city. The special interest of the embassy derives from the fact that it marked a change in the relations between Central Asia and Russia. Source material on the 1796 embassy, hitherto not generally known, shows that at the turn of the eighteenth century economic, cultural and political relations between Russia and Tashkent were growing closer. The main source relating to this embassy forms part of the Tashkent Affairs file of the Central State Archives of the Internal Affairs and Internal Policy of Russia. Other authorities, particularly Muhammad Salih Qari Tashkendi, the author of NEW HISTORY OF TASHKENT, say that at the end of the eighteenth century the rulers of Tashkent tried to establish closer relations with Russia and some of their subjects regarded the rapprochement as a chance of bringing about economic revival and of preserving the independence of Tashkent.

Tashkent had been for centuries an important centre of trade between the agricultural and cattle-breeding areas of Central Asia, while its strategic importance was due to its position in the Chirchik valley, a gateway to the lands between the Syr-Dar'ya and the Amu-Dar'ya.

Yunus Khodzha, ruler of Tashkent since 1784, wished to extend trade relations with Russia and to this end he sent in 1794 a letter to the Siberian Administration (sibirskaya administratsiya). The matter was duly reported by the head of the Siberian Line, Lieutenant-General Shtrandman, to the government, which instructed him to send a letter and ambassadors to Tashkent for negotiations and to check the truth of "rumours coming here, and to find out how abundant was the gold ore found in that land".(1)

In November 1794 the ambassadors, Sergeant (serzhant) A.S. Beznosikov and obershikhtmeyster T.S. Burnashev, set out. Instead of following the direct Tashkent caravan route, the Governor-General of Siberia directed them to travel via Orenburg and call on the way on Shah Murad, the Emir of

Bukhara, and Khudoyarbek, the Ruler of Khodzhent, and on their way back to visit the Kazakh Bukey Sultan. But at Bukhara the letters and gifts which the Russians had prepared for those dignitaries were confiscated and they were forbidden to continue the journey on the ground that "the addressees, although they in a way acknowledge their subjection to the Khan of Bukhara, for diverse reasons bear a grudge against him and wish evil".(2)

Shtrandman, however, did not give up the scheme and decided to send another embassy directly to Tashkent. Bukey Sultan (head of the Karakisetskaya volost), one of the sultans of the Middle Horde, was asked to provide the ambassadors with guards and a guide. The richness of the gifts sent to him induced him to appoint his own son, Ishim Sultan, and two other men to conduct the Russians to Tashkent. There were two ambassadors, Beznosikov, who was appointed for the second time, and Second-Lieutenant Dmitriy Telyatnikov, ataman of the Cossack troops; they were accompanied by Corporal (kapral) Ya. Bykov, a Siberian Cossack, who acted as their guide.

The year 1796 is one of the most important dates in the history of eighteenth century Tashkent, not only because it is the date of the first Russian embassy to arrive there but also because it marks the beginning of the political gravitation of the Tashkent state towards Russia, on whose patronage local merchants and craftsmen placed their hopes for a better future.

The Russians received a friendly welcome and were allowed to move freely in the land of Yunus Khodzha in order to gather information about its economic position and its possibilities of establishing closer trade relations with Russia. One of the results of this was a very interesting description of the Tashkent state written by Telyatnikov. The document has hitherto been unknown to historians and in spite of the fact that the preserved copy is incomplete, is one of the most important Russian sources on the history of eighteenth century Tashkent:

"Statement by Second-Lieutenant, Cossack ataman Telyatnikov.

"1. The city of Tashkent lies in a valley near a mountain called Alatau from which a small river, the Chirchik, flows. Canals conduct its water to nourish the fields and supply the population of the city. Its buildings are of clay excepting the mosques and public schools called medrese. There are about seven thousand private houses.

"2. To the aforesaid Tashkent belong two fairly large towns, Chimkent and Saram, and small towns: Niyasbek, Altyn tyubya, Karabulak, Sarapan and Temir, and some ten villages. It takes a three or four days' journey, covering fifty versts a day, to reach one of those places which lies farthest from the city.



"3. There are about ten thousand people in Tashkent itself and about three thousand in the larger and smaller towns, some thirteen thousand altogether.

"4. The Khan's army in Tashkent and the rest of the country amounts to some two thousand men, the majority of them fugitives of various nationalities, that is Kalmyks, Uzbeks, men of Kukan [Kokand], Khodzhent and Bukhara; natives of Tashkent are very scarce amongst them. The troops have three kinds of weapons: some have been armed by the Turks according to their habit with firearms without locks and with slow matches, others have bows and arrows or spears and sabres. They are supported by the Khan.

"5. The Khan of Tashkent also has some very light artillery consisting of some twenty cast iron and iron cannon which are carried by camels and used against enemy raids.

"6. Gunpowder is manufactured by the men of Tashkent and saltpetre is here very abundant and productive (bogatogo soderzhaniya). Lead is brought from Turkestan for the local supply is very small. It is smelted at Tashkent.

"7. In the past Tashkent suffered many afflictions because of abuses and internecine dissensions; it was governed by four dignitaries until the coming of the present ruler, Yunus Khodzha, whose title was eventually changed to that of khan. He overthrew his four predecessors and assumed the aforesaid khan's rank, which he has kept now for twenty years. This office is not hereditary. Since his coming into power in the state of Tashkent the said Khan has conquered two strong volosts, the Kirgis-kaysatskiya [i.e. Kazakh] Yusunskaya and Chanch' kalinskaya. He has imposed on them a tribute of one sheep per yurt and an obligation to provide a required number of auxiliary troops in wartime.

"8. The said Khan has disputes with all the neighbouring rulers except that of Khodzhent [? Khadzanskiy]. But one can hardly notice any further success of the Khan's arms. He has a sufficient amount of reserve provisions when one considers the size of his army.

"9. The state of Tashkent is rich in silk, cotton (khlopchataya bumaga), sorochinsk [? sorochinskoye] millet; also wheat, barley, buckwheat, spelt; as to fruit, there are grapes, apricots, walnuts; other fruits are apples, pears, musk- and water-melons.

"10. As regards our products (s nashey storony) the country needs iron, copper and soft leather which in fact are indispensable goods. They also buy woollen cloth. . ." (3)

The accuracy of Telyatnikov's observations is confirmed by other sources, both Russian (notes made by Pospelov and Burnashev during their visit to Tashkent in 1800) and Central Asian - NEW HISTORY OF TASHKENT, by Muhammad Salih Qari.

The source material relating to the embassy shows that the Russians acquired a good knowledge of the material resources of Tashkent: the report submitted by Shtrandman to the Tsar expressly states that "the alleged abundance of gold and iron ore has not been confirmed, but at some places they noticed traces of mining which suggested the presence of other metals, such as copper, lead and iron".(4) The talks the ambassadors had with Yunus Khodzha concerning the possibilities of trade between Russia and Tashkent were frank and highly satisfactory. Afterwards the State Chancellor of Russia wrote that the Khan had not concealed anything from the officer sent to him.(5)

Thanks to Telyatnikov's embassy the importance to Russia of Tashkent as a centre of international trade was clearly realized by the Siberian Administration. In a report of 9th September 1796 Shtrandman suggested that Russian trade with Tashkent could conveniently pass through the towns on the Siberian Line and he stressed its value, "this trade, started on a large scale within the borders of Tashkent, can doubtlessly before long create a similar sort of relationship not only with the people of the lands surrounding Tashkent - Kokand, Khodzhent and Bukhara - but also of other countries, even Tibet; moreover, goods can be received there from China".(6)

There are also indications that Yunus Khodzha asked for Russian help in improving local production of metals and for protection against China in case of war, but the ambassadors, in order not to exceed their powers apparently refused to commit themselves. Thus, when the Russians finally left Tashkent in June 1797, they were accompanied to Omsk by Mulla Dzhan Akhun Makhzum and Ashur Ali Bakhadur, ambassadors of Yunus Khodzha who were to submit the matter to the Tsar. Telyatnikov and his companions were appointed to bring them to St. Petersburg where they arrived at the end of October or beginning of November, the very moment when Paul I was reconsidering the aims of Russian internal policy. As it was expedient for the Asian Department of the Board of Foreign Affairs to acquaint itself first with the papers of Telyatnikov's mission, Khodzha's ambassadors were not officially received by the Tsar until 13th December.

Two documents delivered by the ambassadors to the Asian Department throw light on some of the problems of Tashkent and on the growing prestige of Russia there. The letter of Yunus Khodzha asks Russian help in developing the natural resources of Tashkent by sending there two Russian metallurgists and the statement of the ambassadors puts forward Yunus Khodzha's request for Russian protection should China attack Tashkent.(7) The latter was a delicate point from the Russian point of view since its

acceptance by Russia would oblige it to give military help to Tashkent while in fact she had no desire to endanger her good relations with China; secondly, the conclusion of an official agreement with Tashkent would imply that the Tsar had recognized it as a sovereign state, which could in future make the situation in Central Asia difficult for Russia. Moreover, in the above two documents no mention was made of what obligations Tashkent would assume towards Russia, especially in the matter of the safety of Russian merchants there. Thus the Russian Government was extremely cautious and, though in general it favoured the idea of establishing closer economic, cultural and political relations with Tashkent, it believed that the discussions should continue on a larger scale. Accordingly when on 16th March 1798 the ambassadors were leaving St. Petersburg, they received presents from the Tsar for their master but no definite promises.

The ambassadors delivered to Yunus Khodzha three letters: from Paul I, the State Chancellor A.A. Bezborodko, and "General-Major" Gorchakov, the new commander of the Siberian Line. Of those only the first had the status of an official document and it did not answer any of the problems submitted by the Tashkent ambassadors. Thus Russia avoided committing herself in matters which required further consideration, but the Russian point of view was expounded in the two other letters. Bezborodko emphasized the freedom and safety which Tashkent merchants enjoyed in the Empire, and said that Russian merchants would be allowed to go to Tashkent if its Government granted them similar facilities in an official document addressed to the Russian Government. He also promised that metallurgists would be sent to Tashkent and that Russia would help it in emergency.(8) Both letters revealed the good relations between Russia and China; it was pointed out that the Russian Government, knowing the peaceful disposition of China, believed that unprovoked she would not start war; and it recommended Yunus Khodzha to avoid occasions for friction; but should China attack, the Tsar would intervene on behalf of Tashkent. Gorchakov's letter added that, as at present there was no occasion for Russia to protect Tashkent, she considered it unnecessary to conclude a definite agreement to that effect.(9)

These documents show that at the end of the eighteenth century, although Russia avoided a military agreement with Tashkent, she on the whole adhered to her policy of broadening her relations with the Central Asian rulers. This view is confirmed by Bezborodko's letter of 9th March 1798 to Gorchakov in which it was recommended that the men sent to investigate the Tashkent deposits of ore, should be instructed to collect any information about the country which would be useful in the event of its ruler receiving from Russia the help he desired.(10) There is no specific mention of the need to collect military information - apparently it was expected that Russian troops would receive a friendly welcome there.

On 28th June 1800, two Russian mining engineers, M. Pospelov and T. Burnashev, arrived in Tashkent where they were ceremoniously received by

Yunus Khodzha. Their arrival opened a period of closer relations between Tashkent and Russia. The states of Central Asia maintained trade connections with Russia, but the ruler of Tashkent was the first to seek Russian help in developing the economy of his state.

Notes

- (1) Central State Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SSSR (CGA MID SSSR), Tashkent Affairs file (FTD); document (d)3, fo.2.
- (2) "Puteshestviye ot sibirskoy linii do goroda Bukhary v 1794 godu i obratno v 1795 godu", T.S. Burnashev. SIBIRSKIY VESTNIK, ed. G. Spasskiy, Pt.I. SPB., 1818, p.265.
- (3) CGA MID SSSR, FTD, d.1, ff.8-8a.
- (4) Ibid., d.3, fo.2a.
- (5) Ibid., fo.11.
- (6) Ibid., fo. 3.
- (7) Ibid., d.6, ff.2-2a.
- (8) Ibid., d.2, ff.11-11a.
- (9) Ibid., d.3, ff.14-14a.
- (10) Ibid., ff.11-11a.

S O M E   P R O B L E M S   O F  
I N T E R N A T I O N A L \*   E D U C A T I O N

By

N. Dzhandil'din

The following is an abridged version of an article which appeared in *KOMMUNIST* No.13, September 1959. It should be read in conjunction with another article by N. Dzhandil'din reproduced in *CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW*, Vol.VI, No.1, pp.16-24. N. Dzhandil'din is Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

The present article contains many points of interest for students of Central Asian nationalism. (See also the article "'Nationalism' in the Soviet Muslim Republics" on p.341.) So-called bourgeois nationalist survivals are usually supposed to be confined to the older generation but it is shown here that they also persist among young people. The resistance of the peoples of the eastern republics to modernization, to the russianization of their languages and the use of Russian is attributed to objection to modernization in principle. The possibility that at least part of the resistance is not due to the process of modernization per se but to its introduction by an alien people is left entirely out of account. Treatment of the matter of great-power chauvinism, against which Lenin warned so strongly, is confined to two almost perfunctory references at the beginning and end of the article.

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\* The Russian word used here is internatsional'nyy. When used with vospitaniye (education) as here, this word seems to refer only to the nationalities of the Soviet Union. The word mezhdunarodnyy is never used in this narrow sense, but only as referring to all the nations of the world.

The subject of the article is defined as the education of the man of the future communist society in loyalty to the Leninist principles of the unity of the socialist nations, in proletarian internationalism and in Soviet patriotism. Although the number of people who are still insufficiently informed on these matters and who adhere to outworn survivals is insignificant, they nonetheless interfere with the "international" education of the workers.

"The multi-national Soviet state provides a striking example of the wisest and justest solution of one of the most complicated problems of human life, the national problem." Giving Kazakhstan as an example of Soviet achievement in this respect, the article describes the economic and cultural advantages gained by the Kazakh people. The fact that these advantages could only have been gained with the assistance of the Russian people is strongly emphasized. It is precisely through jealousy of these achievements that the imperialist world is trying to besmirch the Soviet Union and to pretend that the peoples of Central Asia are hostile to the idea of communism and are struggling against the domination of the Russian communists. The manifest stupidity of the nauseating ideas contained in such books as *TURKESTAN IN THE XXTH CENTURY* by Baymirza Hayit, does not mean that every effort should not be made to defend the Leninist ideology of the friendship of the peoples against every attack. "This is necessary not only because imperialist reactionaries are continually trying to undermine the friendship existing among the Soviet peoples, but because there are still in our very midst relics of the old bourgeois views on the subject of relations between the nations, that is to say, nationalist survivals. They take the form not only of great-power chauvinism, but also of local nationalism. The first expresses itself in a desire to belittle the importance of the culture, language and traditions of the national minorities and to ignore the principles of national equality; and the second, in the tendency of individual nations to hold themselves aloof from the others and to retire into the shell of narrowly circumscribed interests.

"In Soviet society, where the fullest equality of the peoples has been realized, and where the people of the various nations constitute one brotherly family founded on Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and the friendship of peoples, nationalist survivals cannot and do not take the form of an open struggle against the socialist commonwealth of nations. In practice these survivals find their expression first and foremost in localism (mestnichestvo).

"The development of the economy and culture of each Soviet republic is based on the one hand on the most effective use of its natural resources and on the other on the correct coordination of the interests of that republic and the country as a whole." The article goes on to discuss how these two objectives are to be attained, but observes that "people are occasionally met with who, if not openly then under cover, oppose the developments of the productive forces and the use of the natural resources of their republic

because they fear the participation in their affairs of the representatives of other friendly republics." The slightest tendency to this kind of thing by local workers should be regarded as a manifestation of nationalist narrow-mindedness and should be most vigorously opposed. If such a harmful tendency had gained the upper hand for example in Kazakhstan, it would not have been possible to carry out the grandiose task of mastering the Virgin Lands. Fortunately, however, the absolute majority of the Kazakh people responded to the desire of the Communist Party in this respect.

"National narrow-mindedness not infrequently shows itself in the violation of Leninist principles in the selection of cadres. A short while ago public opinion in the republic sharply condemned the expression by individual representatives of the intelligentsia of the opinion that in Kazakhstan only such persons should work in responsible posts who knew the Kazakh language, as if there was some necessity to return to the policy of 'nativization' of the administrative machine which had been followed in the early years of Soviet power". (See CAR, Vol.VI, No.1, pp.16-24.)

"Our Party has always exercised the greatest care in the training and education of national cadres. This is the most important constituent part of Lenin's national policy. Special attention to the interests of separate nations, the necessity of which Lenin frequently underlined, has a direct relation to the question of selection of cadres. But this matter should not be understood only in a one-sided way. While demanding the care and attention of the Russian communists, the representatives of local nationalities are obliged in their turn to show in their own republics the same attentiveness towards the representatives of the Russian and other nationalities.

"The Leninist principle in the selection of cadres in the conditions obtaining in the national republics has two sides to it: strict regard to the national composition of the population and the selection of cadres according to their political and practical qualities. These two sides are inseparably connected and cannot be divorced from each other. It is impossible to select cadres simply on the basis of their national qualities and without taking into consideration their practical and political qualities. A member of any nationality can be put into any post provided that he is suitable in respect of his political and practical qualities. At the same time, in this important political matter the national feelings of the Soviet people should in no case be overlooked or ignored. This goes without exception for all nationalities living in any given republic.

"Before, when national cadres were in some cases weak, it was not always possible to combine the two things, but the position has now changed. Well trained cadres exist in sufficient number in every nationality. It is simply a question of studying and knowing them properly and of educating them in the spirit of Communist efficiency and Party principles".

Most of these nationalist prejudices find their expression in the ideological field, in science, literature, and art. This results in an exaggeration of the individual achievements in economy and culture of the various peoples and in a corresponding tendency to belittle the role of other nations. A great deal of work has been done in combating these tendencies. Nevertheless, cases are frequently encountered of national narrow-mindedness in the understanding and interpretation of problems relating to the development of national culture, and to national traditions and customs. "In our country, every people has exceptionally favourable opportunities for the universal development of its education and culture in its own native language. In our republic, for example, the bulk of Kazakh children study in the national schools in their own language. At the same time there is a well-known and natural urge on the part of all Soviet peoples to learn the Russian language and to master the achievement of the advanced Russian culture. The language of the great Russian people as the most powerful means of uniting the peoples of our country and of acquiring the higher flights of contemporary knowledge, technology and culture enjoys an enormous respect, and, among the Kazakh people especially, Russian has become their second mother tongue. Consequently, the Kazakhs willingly allow the teaching of the Russian language to their children. At the present time about a quarter of Kazakh children study in schools where instruction is carried on in the Russian language. Incidentally, there is no known case of compulsion." In a recent law passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic on the strengthening of the connection between the schools and life and on the further development of the system of popular education in the Kazakh SSR it was stated that "the learning of the Russian language in the schools with Kazakh or another language as the language of instruction, and similarly the learning of the Kazakh language in schools with Russian or another language as the language of instruction, is carried out according to the wishes of parents and teachers."

There are people, the article continues, who declare themselves against the knowledge of the Russian language and of Russian culture, and who insist that the children of Kazakhs ought to be able to study only in Kazakh. "Such a view is nothing more nor less than bourgeois nationalism, and it must be firmly opposed."

Marxism-Leninism does not deny the existence of national differences and these must be constantly taken into account. They have very deep roots in the past as, for instance, in Kazakh culture. This does not mean, however, that these cultures should never change or that they are divided from each other "as it were by a Great Wall of China". The common characteristics of all cultures are particularly evident in conditions of a socialist society. "Here, two processes are constantly at work in the spiritual life of the peoples: the flourishing of national cultures and their gradual merging. These two processes are inseparably connected with each other." "Thus, national character, or the psychological make-up of a nation,



harmoniously combines in itself two factors: the factor which distinguishes peoples and their cultures, and the factor which brings them together and unites them."

After quoting Lenin's statement about socialism aiming at the abolition of national divisions and at the drawing together and eventual merging of nations, the article explains that although the process of merging is a long one, particularly in respect of the creation of a single world language, "the drawing together of nations and their cultures. . . is an actual fact. It cannot be separated from the future, however distant, prospect of the merging of nations." Nor can it be speeded up or slowed down by administrative methods, although "individual comrades" are trying to do this in respect of the Kazakh language. In its written form Kazakh was only in an embryo form before the Revolution, it was therefore a legitimate and progressive process for it to be enriched with technical, political and artistic terms from Russian and other languages. Nevertheless, an attack was recently made in the newspaper LENINSHIL ZHAS on "the pollution of the language with foreign words". There is a mistaken notion that new words for new things can be provided from Kazakh sources, however unintelligible such words may be, on the grounds that they are "a poor thing but our own". For example, as the Kazakhs had no shows of any kind, there was no word for 'spectator' in their language. Although the Russian word zritel' is freely used by the great majority of people, a fruitless attempt was made to introduce the totally unintelligible word korermen. These opponents of new words taken from their "brothers' languages" quote Belinskiy to support their theory. But Belinskiy although he criticized the use of foreign words in Russian admitted that the most expressive words were the best, whether Russian or foreign. "These wonderful words of the great Russian democrat provide a final answer to those ill-starred intellectuals who want to delay artificially the ineluctable process of the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of the national cultures and languages of the Soviet peoples."

The same tendency is observable among youthful creators of art and literature - a tendency to portray our contemporaries in a purely ethnographic way. The fact is that some representatives of the creative intelligentsia do not properly understand the nature of the national role, identifying it with the forms of their national way of life and of the old pre-revolutionary way of life into the bargain. Anxious to impart a national colour to their productions they have to show their heroes - kolkhozniks, workers and even young people - in national robes and head-dresses, in old-fashioned long dresses and bodices. Indispensable accessories of their productions are the yurt and meat dishes à la Kazakh eaten with the fingers while sitting on the ground. A recent exhibition of pictures consisted largely of outmoded views of this and that being done in summer pastures. These bore no relation to the busy life on the new lands today and represented the shepherd merely "as the guardian of what remains from the former patriarchal and feudal society". "Thus our art which is called upon to

propagate everything new and progressive which is being created in life and society sometimes gives publicity to an epoch long since past. This has a completely negative influence on the education of our young people."

Some people press for the mass manufacture of national dress. This too is simply part of a senseless and unwanted adherence to the traditions and customs of the past and can do nothing but harm to the communist education of the workers. At one time there was a similar movement in Russia, but now no-one dreams of returning to the costumes of Pushkin's time or even of the beginning of the twentieth century.

The large quantity of literature written about traditions and survivals suffers in the opinion of the writer from three defects:

- (a) No distinction is made between good and bad traditions and they are accordingly lumped all together.
- (b) National traditions are thought by many to be immutable, whereas when the use of the best traditions is advocated, their further development in accordance with the new conditions of life should be borne in mind.
- (c) Some Party members consider only old traditions as popular ones and only talk and write about them. But there are some splendid traditions of the Soviet period such as the self-effacing work of constructing communism, collectivism in its highest form, Soviet patriotism, the indestructible friendship and brotherly co-operation of the Soviet peoples, etc.

There is no people in the family of socialist nations which would not value this sacred friendship, now stronger than ever. "But this not only does not remove but greatly strengthens the need to fight against the survivals of nationalism. Unless this is done they may become a serious hindrance to the "international" education of the workers and particularly of young people. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the campaign against nationalistic prejudices requires great skill and wisdom. On no account should the national feelings of Soviet peoples be irritated, much less insulted.

"The fight against local nationalism, and the education of all the formerly oppressed nations in a spirit of mutual brotherhood and friendship, in a spirit of unbounded love and gratitude to the great Russian people constitute the primary duty first and foremost of the communists of these nations; while Russian communists see it as their duty to give the maximum attention to opposing manifestations of great-power chauvinism. In this lies the essence of Lenin's presentation of the problem of the struggle against nationalistic survivals."

"NATIONALISM" IN THE SOVIET  
MUSLIM REPUBLICS

During the first eight months of 1959 there have been disturbances within the Party organizations of four republics - Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaydzhan and Tadzhikistan. In all these republics except Tadzhikistan the disturbances were accompanied by the removal of the First Secretary of the Central Committee and sometimes of other personnel also. In all cases, with the mysterious exception of Uzbekistan, the reasons for these changes were given fairly fully. "Nationalist tendencies" were always mentioned, although they seem to have been more important in some republics than in others. The following is a collection of all passages relating to "nationalism" which appeared in this connection in the press of the four republics. Note should also be taken of the proceedings of the "Joint Scientific Session Dedicated to the Importance of the Incorporation of Central Asia into Russia" (see CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.VII, Nos.2, pp. 157-9, and 3, pp.271-3) and of the following articles: "The Bourgeois Nationalist Baymirza Hayit Cannot Hide the Truth" by A. Il'yasov and K. Novoselov in KOMMUNIST TURKMENISTANA, 1959, No.5, pp.52-60; and "Truth is Stronger than Lies" by N. Sagindykov and A. Shmanov in PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1959, No.6, pp.72-77.

Turkmenistan

First Secretary S. Babayev and Second Secretary N. Durdyeva removed.

TI. 16.12.58

Speech of First Secretary D.D. Karayev at XVth Congress of the Turkmen Communist Party.

"On the contrary they [Babayev and Durdyeva] flouted the bolshevist principle of the selection of cadres, cultivated a faulty method, alien to our Party, of promoting cadres. Babayev and Durdyeva placed their own venal aims first and for this very reason selected people not according to their political, practical qualities but according to criteria of local origin (zemlyachestvo), personal devotion and servility." TI. 20.1.59

Speech of D.D. Karayev at XXIst Congress of CPSU.

"Former secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan Babayev and Durdyeva flagrantly ignored the Leninist norms of Party life and the principles of Party guidance. They ignored the bolshevist principle of selection and promotion of cadres, distorted the sacred principle of internationalism in our Party, treated the cadres of other nationalities with scorn. . ." TI. 5.2.59

Unsigned article "The Leninist Norms of Party Life must be strictly observed":

"The Party has always fought firmly against both great-power chauvinism and local nationalism in whatever forms they showed themselves. Unfortunately one can still meet people infected with (nositeli) certain nationalist prejudices, one can still find examples of nationalist narrowness and rigidity. Nationalist survivals can sometimes be observed in economic and ideological fields, in the matter of the selection of cadres. . .

"However, former secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan Babayev and Durdyeva interpreted these important decisions of the Party and Government incorrectly. There appeared in their work a tendency to set off the cadres of the basic nationality [i.e. Turkmen.-Ed.] against those of other nationalities. They ignored the bolshevist principle of the selection and promotion of cadres, distorted the sacred principle of internationalism (internatsionalizm) in our Party and treated the cadres of other nationalities with scorn. . ." KOM. TURK., 1959, No.2

Unsigned article "The Most Important Tasks of Ideological Work":

"The decisions of the XXIst Congress of the CPSU on problems of ideological work emphasized the importance of an international (internatsional'-nyy) education, of the reinforcement of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR. In our country the social and economic basis for national hostility or discrimination is lacking. We have not, however, finally liquidated nationalist survivals. They appear in attempts to avoid strengthening connections with other economic regions, in local patriotism and in an incorrect attitude towards the interests of the State as a whole.

"In its execution of Lenin's national policy the Communist Party secured a broadening of the rights of Union republics and of local Party and Soviet organs. Some executives have incorrectly understood these measures, have attempted to set off the cadres of the basic nationality against workers of other nationalities. Former secretaries of the Central Committee of the Turkmen Communist Party Babayev and Durdyeva were guilty of this. They tried to implant scorn towards the other peoples of the USSR, adopted an indifferent attitude towards using the advanced experience of fraternal

republics, slowed down exchange of cultural values." KOM.TURK., 1959, No.4

### Uzbekistan

First Secretary Kamalov removed.

PV. 15.3.59

No reason or account of the proceedings were given. First Secretary Sh.R. Rashidov's speech (PV. 28.3.59) mentions that there had been serious shortcomings and mistakes in the fields of economics, culture and Party organization, and goes on to emphasize the duty of creative workers to "wage an implacable war against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, occurrences of nationalist rigidity, local patriotism and other survivals".

PV. 28.3.59

### Tadzhikistan

No administrative changes.

Speech of First Secretary Ul'dzhabayev to VIth Plenum of the Tadzhik Communist Party.

"Some representatives of our intelligentsia are too willing, for any reason or for no reason at all, to emphasize that we Tadzhiks are an ancient people and have an ancient culture. Why these reminders now, one wonders? Yes, it is a fact that we are an ancient nation and have an ancient culture. But on the eve of the October Revolution our people, as is well known, were on the point of dying out, in fact the Tadzhik nation as such did not exist.

"Whoever does not understand this [the fact that the Tadzhik nation owes all it has to its 'elder brother the great Russian people'. -Ed.] whoever tries to set the cadres of the local nationality against those of other nationalities, has no place in our Party, no place in our ranks."

KT. 17.7.59

### Azerbaydzhan

First Secretary I.D. Mustafayev removed.

BR. 11.7.59

"As is well known the XXIst Congress of the CPSU emphasized that in all ideological work the most important place must go to problems of educating the workers in the spirit of industry, of fulfilment of one's social duty, in the spirit of the friendship of peoples and of socialist internationalism. However, as the participants of the Plenum noted in their speeches, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaydzhan responded unsatisfactorily to this demand. Recently attention had slackened towards problems of the international education of the workers."

BR. 11.7.59

## THE BAKU HISTORICAL CONFERENCE

1958

Between 22nd-24th December 1958 a conference on the history of the Bolshevik Revolution in Transcaucasia was held in Baku. The conference was organized by the History Department of the SSSR Academy of Sciences together with the Armenian, Azerbaydzhani and Georgian Institutes of History and it was attended also by Kazakh, Latvian and Dagestani scholars. Altogether some two hundred people took part; they heard nine lectures and sixteen people participated in debates.

The works of the conference were inspired by the XXth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party which had emphasized the importance of further and more detailed study of the history of the "Socialist Revolution, the heroic struggle of the toilers of our country against foreign interventionists and internal counter-revolution".(1)

In his opening address A.S. Sumbat-zade, vice-president of the Azerbaydzhani Academy of Sciences, stressed the need for coordinating research into the various aspects of the Revolution in the three Transcaucasian republics. He added that the present conference was expected to play a large part in that task.

The lectures delivered can be roughly divided into three groups: the first covered the specific local features of the revolutionary struggle in the three republics, the second was concerned with the part played by the local soviets before and during the Revolution, and the third dealt with the fight of the Transcaucasian workers against the foreign interventionists in 1918-21. The last group has a particular propaganda significance.

The first topic was discussed in relation to Azerbaydzhani by the director of the Institute of History of the Azerbaydzhani Academy of Sciences, I.A. Guseynov. He said that by 1917 the ground had been prepared for the Revolution (imelis' vse o"byektivnyye sotsialnoekonomicheskiye predposylki sotsialisticheskoy revolutsii): "the proletariat of Azerbaydzhani already had behind it fifteen years of training in revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party".(2)

The events which took place in Azerbaydzhani in 1917 made Guseynov draw the following conclusion as regards the political make-up of the country: "if the industrial area of Baku is excluded, dual power in fact meant the

sole power of the landowners and bourgeoisie".(3) This point of view was subsequently widely discussed.

The Soviet regime was proclaimed at Baku on 31st October 1917 and the local branch of the Party prepared the workers to fight the "bourgeois-landowners' counter-revolution". In connection with this, the speaker paid homage to a number of distinguished Party activists including Mikoyan.

On 25th April 1918 the Baku Sovnarkom was set up and "immediately it began to carry out the more important socialist transformations"(4) in a manner which A.E. Ioffe, the author of the "Historical Conference in Baku" (VOPROSY ISTORII, No.6, 1959) does not explain. The result of this process apparently was that "during April and May 1918, with the help of the proletariat of Baku, Soviet power was established in almost all the eastern uyezds of Azerbaydzhan and in a large part of Dagestan".(5) But in the following summer the Soviet regime was destroyed by the Turco-German and British interventionists and the Soviet of Baku did not have enough troops to fight both the interventionists and internal counter-revolution. Another reason for this disaster, Guseynov admitted, was serious errors committed by the Azerbaydzhani Bolsheviks: their liberal attitude to the Mensheviks, Dashnaks and SRs as well as a wrong way of recruiting for the army. There was not as yet a firm union between the proletariat and peasantry and the national (sic) problem was still unsolved. Another mistake on the part of the Bolsheviks was that they did not put forward the principle of autonomy and it was not until the spring of 1919 that N. Narimanov suggested that Azerbaydzhan should become a Soviet republic. On 2nd March 1919 the All-Baku Party Conference declared an "independent Soviet Azerbaydzhan" to be one of the objects of the Soviet leaders, but the majority of the members of the Caucasian Regional Committee opposed the principle of independence of the Transcaucasian Soviet republics.

On 19th July 1919 the joint conference of the Politbyuro and the Orgbyuro TsK RKP(b) decided that in future Azerbaydzhan would become an independent republic. Soviet Russia gave Azerbaydzhan considerable economic, political and military assistance while the Azerbaydzhani communists secretly sent petrol and lubricating oil for the Red Army. This display of mutual goodwill culminated in the establishment of Soviet rule in Azerbaydzhan in May 1920 as a result of an armed rebellion headed by bolsheviks.

A.M. Akopyan spoke about the stages in the growth of the Socialist Revolution in Transcaucasia and the reasons for the delay in the triumph of the Soviet regime in Armenia. He severely criticized the widespread belief that the Soviet regime was not victorious in Transcaucasia at the end of 1917 because of the errors committed by the Caucasian Regional Committee and Tiflis Committee of the RSDRP(b). He emphasized that between October 1917-March 1918 an armed insurrection might well have overthrown the Transcaucasian Commissariat and the "assenting" soviets. At that time part of the workers

# Azerbaijan SSR



- - - - State Frontiers.  
 - - - - Union Republic frontiers.  
 ..... Autonomous oblast frontiers.  
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still followed the "assenting" or bourgeois-nationalist parties because the communist parties of Azerbaydzhan, Armenia and Georgia were not organized until 1920. The Bolsheviki did not have armed forces and the struggle for Transcaucasia was limited to the gradual penetration of the Bolsheviki into the soviets, whose object was to transform them into revolutionary organizations. From this Akopyan concluded that in February-March 1918 the way had been prepared for an armed rebellion.

Next the speaker discussed the reasons why in 1918 Soviet rule in Transcaucasia was so short-lived and why its subsequent restoration was delayed. Unlike Guseynov, he sought explanation in social, political and national factors: the economic backwardness of Transcaucasia, its undeveloped proletariat and the weak working-class movement which was, moreover, insufficiently connected with similar activities of the peasants; the mixed national character of the population, and finally the large number of bourgeois-nationalist and other counter-revolutionary parties and movements.

While the revolutionaries were reaping triumphs in central Russia, Transcaucasia was in a state of chaos. The bourgeois-nationalists came to power, first in the Transcaucasian Commissariat and Diet and then, in May 1918 in Armenia, in the so-called Dashnak Government. The situation was complicated further by the interference of foreign imperialists: the British, Americans and others. Only in 1920-1 could the great Russian people offer help to the Transcaucasians; thanks to this the workers and peasants of Transcaucasia under the leadership of the Bolsheviki at last established Soviet rule in their countries.

The same subject with a special reference to Georgia was discussed by A.N. Surguladze.

Three lectures dealt with the subject of the soviets. Z.I. Ibragimov spoke about the soviets in Azerbaydzhan before and during the Revolution. He emphasized that so far the local soviets, except that of Baku, had received little attention and that the amount of research into the social background of their members and the political struggle within the soviets was still very small, though in fact it was a very large subject. In March-April 1917, following the example of Baku, soviets were organized in all the uyezds, railway junctions and large centres of population in Azerbaydzhan as well as in the military centres in the south of the country. Originally the SRs and Mensheviki were predominant in the soviets and the bourgeois-nationalist parties had a strong influence upon them. The only exception was the soviet of the soldiers' deputies in the Sharifkhan rayon which right from the start was in Bolshevik hands. Thus the party composition of the soviets did not predispose them to acting as "organs of revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". In the summer of 1917 there were some forty soviets in Azerbaydzhan; of those that of Baku, with a strong Bolshevik faction, was particularly active. The process of bolshevization of

the soviets was difficult owing to the complicated social and national make-up of the country. The Bolsheviks of Baku and of some other areas had close connections with the Central Committee of the Party and from 13th October 1917 the soviet of Baku was run by the Bolsheviks led by S. Shaumyan.

While the Revolution was winning victory in Russia proper, some provincial soviets of Azerbaydzhan declared their adherence to the Soviet of the National Commissars. But they were unable to withstand the pressure of the counter-revolutionary forces which gained an upper hand in the country in January 1918. Only the soviet of Baku, especially after the suppression of the Musavat uprising in March 1918, was the undisputed master of the city. Soviet rule was established in a number of uyezds between April-June 1918 but it collapsed very soon. The reason for this Ibragimov sees in the perverse policy of the Baku soviet which he has just hailed as a Bolshevik stronghold; now he says that the SR-Menshevik-Dashnak bloc within it ignored the protests of the Bolsheviks and on 25th June 1918 it treasonably decided to invite the help of the British imperialists. In spite of the temporary destruction of Soviet rule in Azerbaydzhan - concluded Ibragimov - the work of the soviets in 1917-18 marked an important stage in the progress of the Revolution in Azerbaydzhan and in the whole of Transcaucasia.

The activities of the soviets in Georgia and Armenia were discussed by E.E. Burchuladze and A.M. El'chibekyan respectively.

Three lectures were concerned with the problem of the resistance of the Transcaucasian peoples against the foreign interventionists in 1918-21. G.A. Galoyan and I.I. Mirtskhulava spoke about it with reference to Armenia and Georgia respectively while E.A. Tokarzhevskiy, the author of ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND THE CIVIL WAR IN AZERBAJDZHAN (Azerbaydzhani Academy of Sciences, Institute of History. Baku, 1957), was the obvious authority to discuss the subject where Azerbaydzhan was concerned. The subject offers great propaganda possibilities to which the three lectures did full justice, the USA being represented as the chief evil genius among the interventionists big and small. On his part Tokarzhevskiy, unlike Guseynov, emphasized the decisive importance of the "armed intervention of Anglo-American imperialism and of the Germano-Turkish bloc" in the temporary collapse of Soviet rule in Azerbaydzhan. A summary of his lecture, supplied by VOPROSY ISTORII, clearly shows what was the chief concern of the above scholar:

"Between the summer of 1918 and the spring of 1920 the interventionists ordered Azerbaydzhan about in a most high-handed way. For six months the Turkish occupying forces ruled over some regions of Azerbaydzhan and sometimes over the whole of the republic. The lecturer gave account of the crimes, such as mass murders and bestialities, which the imperialists had

committed in Transcaucasia. E.A. Tokarzhevskiy also adduced facts which irresistibly unmasked the policy of the British interventionists whose object was to enslave Azerbaydzhan economically. They had exported from Azerbaydzhan over thirty million puds\* of oil products. Also the representatives of the American Standard Oil Company tried to lay hands on the oil resources. The USA was making preparations to establish an American governor-generalship in the Nakhichevan' country. The control exercised by the occupying power resulted in considerable destruction of the local productive forces which subsequently made the restoration of the national economy of Azerbaydzhan the more difficult. The lecturer also described the struggle of the Azerbaydzhani people against the interventionists; this struggle he correctly estimated as part of the common campaign of the peoples of our country against international imperialism and internal counter-revolution."(6)

In this connection an inquiry into the correct interpretation of the word "intervention", as revealed by Tokarzhevskiy himself in ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION, is illuminating. "By intervention our Marxist-Leninist social science understands the forcible interference by one or more powers in the affairs of another country, which violates its sovereignty, encroaches upon its territory and denies equality of the peoples". Marxism-Leninism makes it clear that this sinister practice is limited to imperialists: "Intervention is a favourite political weapon of imperialist powers seeking to enslave other countries". It appears further that intervention assumes different forms to suit each particular case: it may be economic, diplomatic or military. It can also be secret, as happened in Transcaucasia - "In some cases camouflaged intervention precedes open military intervention and it prepares the way for armed attack and occupation of one or another country. This method was exploited by the anti-Soviet imperialist intervention in 1917-1920".(7)

The lectures were widely discussed. Some speakers dealt with the problem of the degree of readiness of Transcaucasia for the Revolution. M.A. Ismailov said that the Azerbaydzhani village in 1917 had a large number of potential revolutionaries in the person of hired agricultural labour. It appears that out of the 38,000 desyatinas\* of arable land in the country only 4,000 were held by peasantry, the rest belonging to the beks who employed hired workers. Ismailov regards these labourers as natural allies of the urban proletariat in the struggle for the victory of the Revolution. But G.M. Dallakyan said that in 1917 the Transcaucasian peasants were not yet prepared for the Revolution and that the bond between them and industrial workers was still weak. Both these statements seem dubious in view of the fact, as I.V. Strigunov emphasized, that the history

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\* 1 pud = 36.1 lbs.

1 desyatina = 2.70 acres

of the working-class of Transcaucasia had not been yet adequately studied. For example, statistical materials relating to the numbers and territorial distribution of the workers in Azerbaydzhan during the First World War had not yet been analysed. Strigunov calculated that the total number of the Azerbaydzhani proletariat on the eve of the Revolution exceeded 120-130,000; the Azerbaydzhani constituted 37.2 per cent, Armenians 26.7, Russians 24.7, Lezgians 9.1 and other nationalities 2.3 per cent. Over 60 per cent of Baku workers had connections with the peasants. As regards occupation, 71 per cent of all workers were employed in establishments each of which had over 100 workers (22.4 per cent of all industrial establishments).

A.S. Sumbat-zade discussed the social and economic state of Transcaucasia on the eve of the Revolution. He denounced Stalin's statement that Azerbaydzhan had been the most backward patriarchal-feudal country and he pointed out that "this statement was converted into a dogma which hindered profound study of the social and economic development of Azerbaydzhan and inspired the rise of erroneous ideas in historical literature".(8) But on the other hand Sumbat-zade criticized the tendency, which had become apparent lately to exaggerate the extent of the development of capitalist relations in the Azerbaydzhani village. This made him argue against Ismailov's conception of the role of agricultural labourers as a revolutionary element.

L.A. Khurshudyan criticized those historians who denied the existence of a revolutionary situation in Transcaucasia and overestimated the part played by the specific conditions of the country, as well as those scholars who considered the situation in each component country separately and concluded that a revolutionary atmosphere existed in Baku but not in Armenia and Georgia. He pointed out that Transcaucasia should be considered as a single economic and political organism and that Lenin had said that in spite of local variations the revolutionary movement was basically the same in the whole Russian state. Khurshudyan's point of view was supported by D.A. Chugayev.

The problem of Transcaucasian-Russian relations received some attention. N.I. Sturua criticized historians whose description of the part played by Soviet Russia in the victory of the proletarian Revolution was inadequate. G.A. Madatov deplored the poor interpretation in historical literature of the friendship between the Transcaucasians and the Russian people and their common struggle against the interventionists.

The final address of I.I. Mints closed the conference. He pointed out those aspects of the Revolution in Transcaucasia which so far had been more or less neglected by historians and awaited further study. Such were the organization and work of the local soviets and the social and economic situation before and during the Revolution. Also it was necessary to produce a comprehensive work on the aid which the counter-revolutionary forces had

received from the interventionists as well as on the history of the October Revolution in Transcaucasia.

Subsequently Mints frankly revealed to a press correspondent the true significance of the conference: "The conference, as compared with a conference on the same subject which was held in 1954, is a big step forward. Since then the scholars of Transcaucasia have studied a large amount of new material relating to the intervention of imperialist powers in Transcaucasia and particularly to the participation of the USA in the organization of the Transcaucasian counter-revolution as well as the economic and financial aid it received. Those sources prove that the American imperialists bear full responsibility for the crimes of the Transcaucasian counter-revolution.

"Thanks to the researches of the Azerbaydzhani, Armenian and Georgian historians a comprehensive work can at last be produced; it will make possible the unmasking of American imperialism and its share in the bloody crimes against the Transcaucasian peoples. . ." (9)

#### Notes

- (1) IZ ISTORII INOSTRANNOY INTERVENTSII I GRAZHDANSKOY VOYNY V AZERBAYDZHANE, E.A. Tokarzhevskiy, Baku, 1957, p.5.
- (2) VOPROSY ISTORII, No.6, 1959, p.182.
- (3) Ibid.
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Ibid., p.186.
- (7) Tokarzhevskiy, pp.32-3.
- (8) VOPROSY ISTORII, p.187.
- (9) BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 27.12.58.

## CENTRAL ASIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

1956 - 58 (1)

It is difficult to give a clear account of current archaeological exploration in Central Asia, for the only available source is the short reports which appear in the press. Thus there is a lack of consecutive information and any account of the excavations must be disappointingly fragmentary.

Another problem is how far the subject should go, that is to say, how to decide where archaeology stops and history begins. Any attempt to fix a demarcation line between the two must be arbitrary and the Mongol invasion is here taken as the dividing point, mainly because the available information on the excavation of later sites tends to grow increasingly scarce.

For the sake of clarity the following account of archaeological research has been limited to the more important sites, and scraps of information on minor finds has been disregarded.

. . .

Central Asia, one of the ancient centres of civilization, is very rich in archaeological sites, but in the Tsarist period such archaeological work as was sporadically carried out was limited to the collection and registration of finds. Systematic work did not start until the Soviet period. Only then the conduct of exploration came to be planned for years ahead and its purpose specified. The earlier years were mainly devoted to exploratory works, which in turn served as a basis for large-scale excavations. The tremendous importance of this planned research for the study of Central Asian history has been, however, considerably undermined by its being moulded into the Marxist form. This is apparent even in such a basic matter as the division into periods. According to Marxist periodization the time between the middle of the first millennium B.C. and the sixth century A.D. was in the southern, mainly agricultural areas, one of "slave-owning" society; this in turn is subdivided into the "primitive" and the "ancient" (antichnyy) periods. The "slave-owning" period was followed by the rise of "feudalism" in the fifth and sixth centuries, and this falls into "early"

and "fully-developed feudalism", the latter ending with the coming of "capitalism" - i.e. the arrival of the Russians, whose advent in this part of the world hastened the growth of capitalism. The basis of these developments is believed to have been natural social evolution and not foreign conquest. According to this conception, the main purpose in the study of historical monuments is to determine the form of community which created them and to identify the stage of its social and economic development.

If it is safe to generalize from the information supplied by the press, Uzbekistan and south-eastern Turkmenistan are the richest archaeological areas and Kazakhstan comes last. This, if correct, could be explained by the contrasts between life in the settled and in the cattle-breeding areas. The former abound in materials relating to their architecture and town life, arts and crafts, and agriculture. There are also direct written sources, though naturally their amount varies from one period to another, and they more intimately reflect the life of the country than information on the life of the nomads derived from mainly foreign sources.

The distribution of archaeological sites in the settled area is determined by its irrigation system, which in antiquity was in some respects different from the present, as some rivers are known to have changed their courses. Thus the basins of the Atrek and Gurgan constituted the Central Asian part of Parthia, the valley of the lower Murgab formed Margiana, the basin of the lower Amu-Dar'ya - Khorezm, the basin of the middle and upper Amu-Dar'ya - Bactria, and that of the Zeravshan and Kashka-Dar'ya - Soghdiana. The history of these states which, incidentally, coincides with the period of "slave-owning" ("ancient") is being reconstructed largely from archaeological evidence.

The distant past of the nomad lands is much more elusive. Written source material for them is not only extremely scarce, but comes largely from foreign documents, with the usual shortcomings which this situation implies. In these circumstances archaeology could play a particularly important part in the reconstruction of their history if its scope was not limited by the specific conditions of life in these regions. Tombs and buildings associated with religion are the principal feature of their architecture, with an occasional fortress representing the centre of a district. Thus the bulk of information on everyday life of the nomad tribes comes from their burial mounds and the objects of common use which they contain. It is essential to remember these differences between the two areas of Central Asia in order to appreciate the significance of the excavations which are being carried out there.

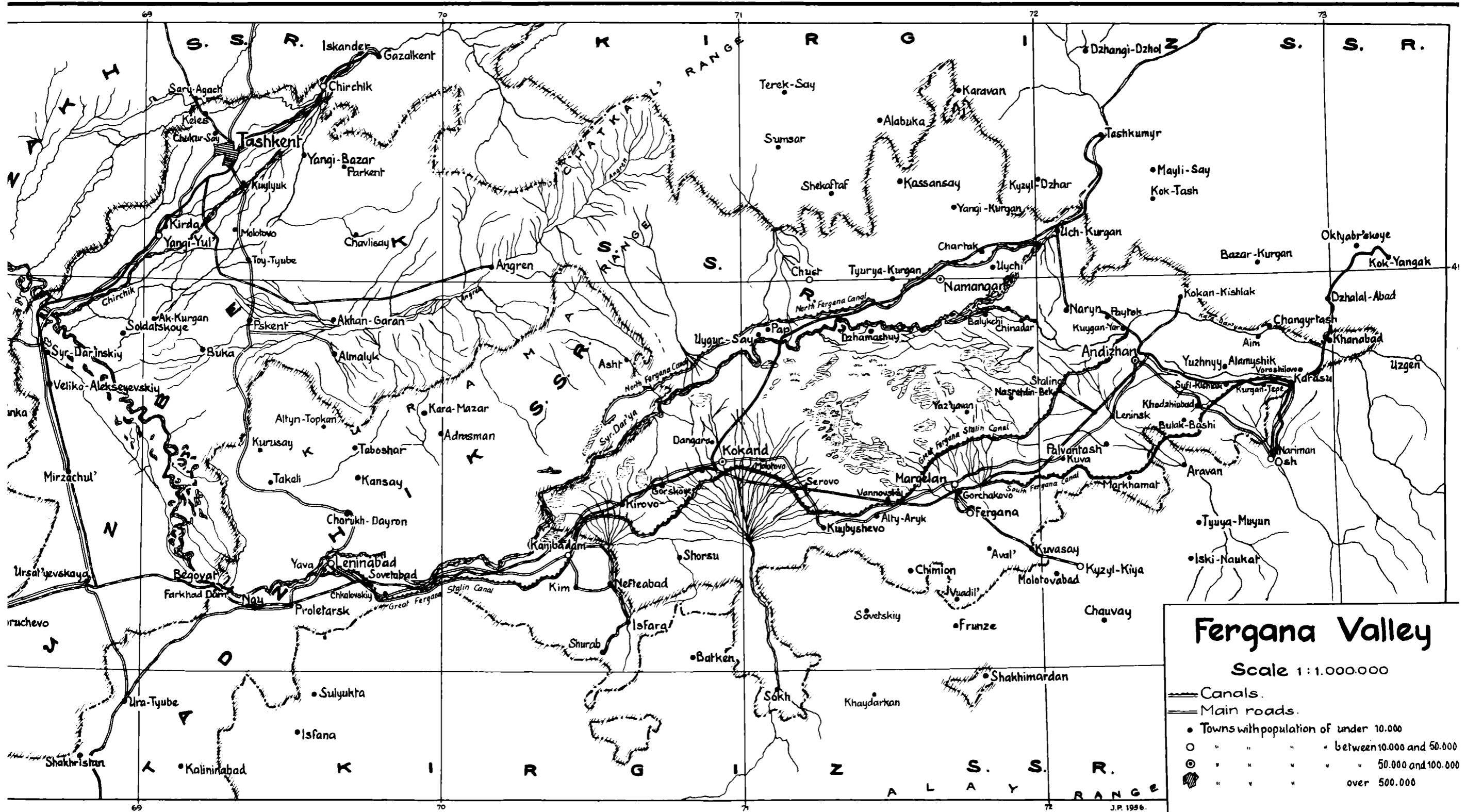


## Settled lands

The Fergana valley is one of the ancient regions of human habitation and its ancient topography is emerging from the extensive archaeological exploration carried out there. In the sands of central Fergana some 700 stone implements have been found, a fact which proves that some 5-7,000 years ago that part of the valley was inhabited by man. The Stone Age people, who lived on the banks of the rivers and lakes, engaged in fishing and hunting until the rivers changed their courses and the lakes dried up. The people moved away, but the tools they left behind show that central Fergana was not always an arid desert.

Traces of Bronze Age man are more abundant in the valley. Three such settlements were excavated in 1957; also a centre of the ancient metal industry was discovered together with numerous huts of its workers, who supplied the population of Fergana with bronze. During the last few years a number of agricultural settlements have been discovered. It is believed that they flourished about 3500-3000 B.C. They are situated on high ground surrounded by the marshes of the Kashka-Dar'ya. They have yielded much pottery decorated with a black pattern on a red background, grinding stones, sickles, knives, a variety of bronze objects and stone casts for making them. There are layers of ashes on the sites suggesting how the settlements perished. Particularly interesting is the situation of the old settlement of Dal'verzin in the Andizhan oblast; it occupied an area of 25 hectares and was densely settled. Of its three occupation levels the second had a strong defence wall of unbaked brick. Perhaps the best known Bronze Age site in Fergana is Chust in the Namangan oblast. The excavations which were started there in 1953 are still going on. It lay on a high dune overlooking the surrounding plateau and was protected by a deep gorge, while the north-western part, which had no natural defence, was guarded by a wall 70 metres long and 6-8 metres high. The site was occupied between 1600-1000 B.C. It was now and again sacked by the nomads, as the layers of ash stretching through all the inhabited levels testify, and it was finally abandoned by the inhabitants when the great wall collapsed. A variety of locally made goods found shows a high level of craftsmanship(2), while some finds testify to the far-flung contacts of the population - such are lapis lazuli beads of Ural origin and shells from the shores of the Pacific or the Indian Ocean. The inhabitants engaged in fishing, hunting, cattle-breeding and agriculture and the variety of crops raised was considerable, as the grains of wheat, barley and millet as well as grape-pips and pumpkin-seeds found at the site show.

Some two years ago the excavation of a hillock in the Central Park of Rest and Culture in the city of Fergana was begun. It was found that at that site there were a number of houses, one built on the ruins of another. The first appeared about the beginning of the Christian era; at that time there was a town at the site of modern Fergana and the excavated hill is



# Fergana Valley

Scale 1 : 1,000,000

- Canals.
- Main roads.
- Towns with population of under 10,000
- " " " " between 10,000 and 50,000
- ⊙ " " " " 50,000 and 100,000
- ⊕ " " " " over 500,000

J.P. 1956.



one of its remnants. In the hills near Fergana there are ancient burial grounds, some of which were excavated in 1954-8; they are of a type hitherto unknown - the mounds were up to 70 metres long and among the oblong ones there are found small circular tumuli. They are the cemeteries of large patriarchal families whose members were buried close to one another, while the nearest relatives were put in a single tomb. The grave goods show them as belonging to the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. and they resemble those found in Kazakhstan, the Tyan'-Shan' and the Pamirs and archaeologists associate them with the Saki tribes.

The digging of the Great Fergana Canal in 1939 proved beneficial from the point of view of archaeology. In the course of the work the early medieval towns of Pap, Rishtan and Kuva, so far known only from references by Arab geographers, were found and identified. The excavation of old Kuva started in 1956. The city appeared some hundreds of years B.C. and survived until the early thirteenth century A.D. when it was destroyed by the Mongols. The uninterrupted occupation level is 10 metres thick; the upper levels, corresponding to the tenth-eleventh centuries, have yielded finds testifying to the high level of craftsmanship; also large hoards of eleventh-thirteenth century coins have been found. The ruins of a pre-Muslim temple show that it was plundered and burned, probably during the Arab conquest. In 1958 work started on the palace; it was a very impressive building, its interior being decorated with paintings; particularly interesting are the fragments of sculpture found both inside and outside the building. The statues are executed with great mastery, their faces convey various emotions - the mouths of some are open as if crying and their eyes express horror. Their costumes and hair styles show great attention to detail and it is possible to identify various ethnic types among them. Various details of the sculpture relate it to that of Pendzhikent, Varakhsha and Balalyk-tepe.

The excavations of the Soghdian Pendzhikent, famous for its splendid mural paintings, continue.(3) In August 1957 another painting, depicting a battle between Soghdians and dēvs, was discovered. Altogether 25 square metres of painting were found that year. They illustrate some local epic whose main hero is perhaps Rustam and he is shown fighting diabolic creatures. Many scenes represent folklore elements or illustrate popular fables whose main characters are animals. Early in the eighth century the Arabs defeated in the mountain of Mug, known as the mountain of fire worshippers, the last ruler of Pendzhikent, Divashtich, and sacked the city; since then the site has remained unoccupied.

In 1955 excavations started at Shakhristan, in the Leninabad oblast, and have recently been completed. There were two towns on a high bank of a river and they flourished between the seventh and ninth centuries A.D. One of them was a small town with a citadel in the centre; the other had a palace in which resided the ruler of the surrounding agricultural district.

The front and central rooms of the palace were decorated with painting while the wooden columns and ceiling of the central hall were finely carved. In 1956, 67 human skeletons were found there. Since they date from the late eighth or early ninth centuries, it may be presumed that Shakhristan was destroyed by the Arabs.

The site of Samarkand and its environs were inhabited by man as early as the Stone Age. In 1958 a settlement of primitive man was excavated on the shore of Lake Komsomol in the city. Two cave dwellings have been found near Samarkand.

One of the most important monuments of ancient Soghdiana is the huge town of Afrasiab which adjoins Samarkand in the north. It is believed that it appeared about 1000 B.C. and survived until the Mongol invasion. During its sack by Chinghiz Khan the channels supplying the town with water from the Dargom were destroyed and as life at Afrasiab could not be restored without water, medieval Samarkand sprang up in the neighbourhood. It is one of the few Central Asian sites which was excavated in the Tsarist period. Large-scale exploration started in 1925 and in 1957 it was stated that the works would go on for another fifteen years. This is not surprising when one considers that Afrasiab occupies an area of 218.9 ha. and its diameter is 1.5km.

Three lines of fortifications surrounding the city show its gradual expansion; there is also a citadel at its north side. These relate to "feudal" Samarkand in the post-Arab period, but underneath there are strata relating to the sixth-fourth centuries B.C. They contain remnants of houses of sundried brick and clay and a large amount of pottery, whose workmanship suggests that at that time the potter's wheel was still a recent introduction. The stratum of the fourth-second centuries B.C. reveals that by that period Samarkand had already spread over the total area of Afrasiab; it contains numerous pottery statuettes and bas-reliefs, the majority relating to the Zoroastrian cult. This stratum corresponds to the city of Marakanda, as ancient authors call it, in which Alexander of Macedonia wintered with his troops. The medieval strata are exceptionally rich in finds and they show that at that time the city's main industries were milling, the manufacture of paper, and pottery. In 1958 the market place adjoining the artisans' quarter was excavated. There were found kilns for firing pottery lamps, as well as a large variety of glass and clay vessels, from huge dishes to tiny bowls decorated with geometrical designs and inscriptions in Persian and Arabic. At the same time a building with strong walls was excavated; it dates back to the early Middle Ages before the Arab invasion. Traces of extensive devastation by the Arab conquerors have been found.

Nothing significant has been reported since 1957 about the excavations at Nisa, capital of the Parthian Empire, and Merv.(4) In Khorezm the

expedition under S.P. Tolstov is continuing its excavations which have yielded new material for preparing an historical and ethnographic atlas of the region.(5)

### Cattle-breeding regions

Towns excavated in Kazakhstan are few in comparison with the settled lands. The excavations of Taraz, within the precincts of contemporary Dzhambul, started in 1936. It was a populous town with bazaars, situated at the junction of caravan routes and in the ninth century Al Khorezmi described it as a city of merchants. It was sacked and depopulated by the Mongols and subsequently even its site was forgotten; it was identified only in 1927. In 1958 traces of water pipes were discovered there. The town had luxurious public baths with hypocausts.

In 1958 was the fourth year of the excavations of Baba-Ata, 200km. from Chimkent, in the centre of an old nomad region and far from the main caravan routes. The town flourished between the seventh and fourteenth centuries; there was a ruler's palace and the houses had hypocausts. In 1958 the third occupation level, 6 metres below the surface, was examined. It is hoped that the excavations will provide material for the study of the relations between the nomad and settled population in southern Kazakhstan.

In 1957 a Palaeolithic site was excavated at Chulak-tau in the Dzhambul oblast; in the same districts traces of Neolithic man were found. In the South-Kazakhstan oblast the excavations of numerous Bronze Age tumuli continued, in which were found grave goods of pottery and jewellery.

Kirgizia, on the route from China to Central Asia, is more abundant in old town sites. The Khodzha-Bakyrghan valley in the distant past was a gate through which passed caravan routes to Fergana. Some ancient and medieval settlements, lately discovered, show that even in antiquity agriculture existed there. The first century A.D. burial grounds have yielded fragments of Chinese textiles and Chinese mirrors testifying to the connections of that region with China. The same evidence relating to the last centuries B.C. is supplied by the excavations of a large town at the source of the Kara-Dar'ya.

There is much evidence of the wholesale destruction of towns during the Mongol invasions. Such was the fate of a settlement with a fortress near Tunuk in the Susamyr valley, whose origins date back to the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the Dzhumgal valley the sites of eight early medieval towns were identified in 1958; two of them were excavated. One of them had strong defence walls and it appeared between the eighth and tenth centuries; the origin of the other dates back to the tenth or

eleventh century. Both were destroyed by Chinghis Khan.

In 1958 the excavation of a Buddhist temple near Tokmak, in the Chu valley, was completed. It existed in the eighth and ninth centuries and was a large building covering an area of 1,600 square metres. There were found fragments of statues of the Buddha and Bodisatvas as well as wall paintings. Some details of the sculpture and the general plan of the temple indicate connections with northern India and Afghanistan. Another temple was found in the neighbourhood five years ago, both being part of an old town.

In 1958 the mystery of Lake Issyk-Kul' was finally solved. Various objects thrown ashore by its waves had inspired local legends that there were human settlements at its bottom; these tales were reported by Russian travellers who visited the region in the nineteenth century. In 1958 Kirgiz archaeologists with the help of divers examined the bottom of the lake along the northern shore and a variety of objects dating from the sixth to the twelfth centuries A.D. were found: metal spear heads, dishes, a primitive mill, fragments of pottery, sickles, coins and fired bricks. In antiquity the shores of the lake were occupied by the nomadic Saki and Usuni, the latter maintaining close connections with China. It appears that whole villages were submerged, but whether this was caused by an earthquake or by the sinking of the shore is still unknown. It is hoped that the under-water exploration planned for 1959 will help to solve the problem.

Excavations done in 1956 have revealed that the production of mercury in southern Kirgizia started in the fourth-second centuries B.C. and that it was carried on by the native population, and not by the Chinese as some scholars used to believe. On the upper reaches of the Sokh small pottery cosmetic jars containing rouge have been found and the content of mercury in the paint varied between 36.4-38.7 per cent. One of the graves in the area of the Samapskoye mercury deposit contained a skeleton of a young miner who died of mercury poisoning - the bones of his joints contained up to 0.5 per cent mercury which had eaten away his teeth and gums. In his left hand he had a burnt torch, probably to illuminate a mine in the other world.

Through southern Kirgizia stretches a chain of hills, some of which are burial mounds dating from the first centuries A.D. By the end of 1957 thirty-eight of them had been excavated. They are all of the same construction - with an almost vertical passage leading to the burial chamber in its western wall, six metres under the surface. There are plank coffins with four legs and coffins carved from logs; each contains a skeleton with 2-8 fragments of pottery; women have beads, bracelets, earrings and Chinese mirrors, men - iron knives with bone handles, swords, arrow heads, remnants of bows. In one grave a well preserved woman's corpse has been found. Similar grave goods have been found as far as the Volga lands.

Excavations done in 1956 have helped to reconstruct the history of the Talass valley. It appears that at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. the valley was occupied by nomads and that only in the eighth-ninth centuries there appeared agricultural settlements. They were surrounded with high defence walls and they flourished until the Mongol invasion, which wiped them out.

#### Source

Central Asian press.

#### Notes

- (1) See also "The Year's work in Central Asian Archaeology, 1954-55", CAR, Vol.IV, No.2.
- (2) Ibid., p.155.
- (3) Ibid., pp.158-9.
- (4) For details see "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Southern Turkmenistan", CAR, Vol.V, No.4.
- (5) See also "Archaeological Surveys in Khorezm (1937-40 and 1945-52)", CAR, Vol.II, No.1.



T H E   O I L   W O R K E R S   O F   N E B I T - D A G

From this article by Sh. Annaklychev which appeared in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1959, No.1, it appears that reluctance to abandon traditional customs is as strong among the Turkmens as in analogous communities elsewhere in the Muslim East, and in some respects even stronger. This may be a form of protest against the constant official pressure on them to change their way of life, which is characteristic of the Soviet regime.

The present article is on the whole sympathetically written. It is not easy to see what is especially "harmful" in many of the simple "survivals" which are described. The reference to inter-marriage between Turkmens and Russians and Ukrainians needs some qualification. While there may be many cases of Turkmen men marrying Russian and Ukrainian girls, the converse is so rare as to be almost non-existent. The article has been abridged and headings added.

. . .

Introduction: Growth of the labour force - Housing and living customs - Food and clothing - Family life - Marriage - Conclusion.

Introduction: Growth of the labour force

"At the present stage of development of Soviet ethnographical science one of the main tasks of ethnographers is to study the way of life of the working-class of various nationalities. This is important. . . because the working-class is the leading class in society in our epoch. However, until now very little attempt has been made by ethnographers, either in our country or abroad, to study the life of the workers. . .

"The study of the development of the culture and way of life of the workers is especially important in such national republics as Turkmenistan where the formation of the working-class took place only after the victory of the October Revolution: (in the pre-revolutionary period Turkmenistan was a backward, agrarian, colonial fringe of Tsarist Russia)."

The history of the Nebit-Dag oil workers can be divided into three periods: (1) 1917-41; (2) the Great Fatherland War; (3) 1945 - the present day.

Although oil production began in Nebit-Dag in 1882, it was insufficiently profitable and ceased in 1887. Drilling was renewed in 1927. The Turkmen oil industry in general at that time was small in scale and apart from a few labourers no Turkmens worked in it. The experienced Russian and Azerbaydzhani technicians, however, began to train Turkmens as oil technicians also. Russian and Turkmen language classes were held by Turkmenneftetrest (Turkmen Oil Trust) to facilitate the transfer of knowledge. When the third gusher started up on 30th January 1933 and proved the field's resources, Turkmens began to flock to the field from the surrounding villages. It was mainly this influx which raised the number of workers in the field from 735 to 1,500 by the end of the year.(1) Young Turkmens were educated in the FZO (shkoly fabrichno-zavodskogo obrazovaniya) of Azerbaydzhan and by Turkmenneftetrest. In 1939 the Nebit-Dag Oil Technicum was opened, followed in 1940 by a trade school. Nebit-Dag also receives workers from other republics. At the end of 1942 alone more than 300 workers arrived at the field, including Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars, Azerbaydzhanis and Armenians.

After the war, owing to the discovery of oil at Kum-Dag 42km. to the south, the number of Turkmen workers at Nebit-Dag increased. In 1951, 1,991 took up employment; during the Fourth Five-Year Plan the number rose 3.5 times.(2)

"The creation of cadres of oil workers in a comparatively short time has resulted in the continued firm preservation not only of national peculiarities of culture and way of life but even of some features of the way of life characteristic of the former Turkmen tribal groups - the Yamuts, Atabays, Dzhafarbays, etc. This is especially noticeable when one studies the customs and rites preserved in the family life of Turkmen workers."

### Housing and living customs

In the main, however, native material and spiritual life has suffered considerable changes. These are shown most graphically in their dwellings. The Turkmen workers now live in settlements and towns instead of groups of yurts, although as late as 1930 the yurt was the predominant type of dwelling. Such settlements are Kazakhaul and Turkmenaul. "The construction of both suburbs was carried out spontaneously and normal planning and construction requirements were not observed. For this reason the majority of the houses in Kazakhaul are huddled together with paths instead of streets. Turkmenaul differs from Kazakhaul only in that here the houses

do not adjoin one another.

One of the reasons for the preservation of these suburbs is the fact that some of the workers living there will not move into the town flats where they would be unable to keep domestic animals, including even camels, as they have been used to do. "At the present time the yurt remains one of the types of dwelling to be found in the rural areas near Nebit-Dag, and there also well-built houses can be found. But in the life of the workers the yurt has completely lost its former significance and is preserved only as an outhouse."

The houses in the suburbs are of stone, brick or wood, and sometimes prefabricated. The roof, usually ridged although sometimes flat, is made of slate, asbestos-board or bitumenized cardboard (tol'). There are usually two rooms; one (agyz-tam), a hall, dining- and bed-room, the second (duypki 8y), which is better furnished, for the reception of guests. The division into a women's and men's half which still existed in the 'thirties is not now found. These houses were originally heated by iron stoves and lit by paraffin lamps. In their furnishings they differ little from yurts. Tables, chairs, beds etc. are rarely found. Later houses were built to hold up to eight families. In 1945 the town began to be supplied with water. In 1952 gas was laid on and the old iron stove has almost disappeared. There is electric light almost everywhere.

As Turkmen housing has changed so has its furnishings. "As early as the beginning of 1940 one could find in the houses of many Turkmen workers modern city-type furniture: metal bedsteads, tables, chairs and bookcases. However, most of the Turkmen and Kazakh families, especially the older generation and the women, still prefer to sit and sleep on the floor. . . One can frequently find Turkmen families in which the old habits are still so strong that those of school age settle down on a carpet or a koshma (felt) to do their homework although they have every opportunity to study at the table.

"At the present moment in Nebit-Dag there are no Turkmen workers' families without radio loudspeakers or radio sets, gramophones, sewing-machines and electric or flat-irons (previously the Turkmen did not iron their linen). Some families have vacuum cleaners, electric fans and refrigerators. These new household articles are widespread also among the population of Nebit-Dag's suburbs and also among the rural population of the surrounding areas. In conditions of close contact and friendship with other nationalities certain common forms of way of life are gradually emerging in the oil workers' multi-national society. Thus the influence of Russian and Azerbaydzhani culture on the way of life of Turkmen workers makes itself felt most in house-furnishings. On the other hand certain features of Turkmen national culture (carpets in particular) are becoming part of the way of life of workers of other nationalities."

Among traditional domestic articles still in use in Turkmen workers' families are sacks of carpet material for holding clothing (chuval), similar bags for spoons and other small objects (torba), wooden casks (chelek), pestles (soki), hand mills (dash degirmen), iron cauldrons (gazan), wine-skins, combs for carding wool (yun darak) etc. The old wooden plates (chanak) and spoons (chemche) are now rarely used except in rural areas.

"During a study of the settlements it becomes apparent that the way of life of Turkmen workers has still not freed itself from the custom of living in groups according to past membership of one or another tribe (plemya) or clan (rod). Thus, almost all the families of Teke-Turkmen in Kazakhaul, although they arrived at different times, live in its south-western outskirts; the majority of the families of Yamut-Turkmen in Turkmenaul live in a compact group. In the remaining parts of Nebit-Dag, however, this peculiarity of distribution has already been overcome."

### Food and clothing

In the past the semi-nomadic life of the Turkmen of this area of western Turkmenistan hindered the growth of a varied diet. The basic foods were wheat, barley, dzhugara (kind of maize), meat (mutton, beef, camel) and milk products. The position remained unchanged during the 'thirties. Now foodstuffs are imported from the southern regions of the republic and the Turkmen have adopted foods characteristic of other nationalities.

"In the past the men and women in a Turkmen family took their meals separately. In addition the women, independently of age, received a smaller share than the men. At the present time no such isolation exists in everyday life, although it is still observed during certain ritual meals (at weddings and funerals). In Nebit-Dag and in the oilfields there is a well-organized system of communal meals."

A noticeable change has taken place in the clothing of the Turkmen, especially of the men. The old-fashioned long robes (don) and large shaggy hats (telpek) were inconvenient for work in the oilfields; thus the men began to wear factory-made work-clothes and gradually abandoned their traditional dress.

"All Turkmen workers now wear European dress (gorodskoy kostyum), with the exception only of some middle-aged people who have still preserved some elements of the old national costume - the shaggy papakha [high fur hat, shaped like a busby, -Ed.]; shirts (sopy yaka and chak yaka) and trousers (dzhul'bar, balak) of old-fashioned cut." [There follows a description of the traditional dress, here omitted. -Ed.] The old type of

footwear yelken, made of dressed leather, and charyk made of undressed cow or camel hide, fur inside, are now rarely seen. Young Turkmens, like workers of other nationalities, wear Cossack hats (kubanki) of Astrakhan fur and Ukrainian shirts (gutsulka). The latter is worn also by many girls.

"As for women's clothing, it has suffered no great changes either in cut or colour since the 1930s. While until recently the basic material for women's clothing was home-woven cloth, now factory-made cloth is used exclusively. Women, like men, have begun to wear factory-made footwear. The outer garment of the majority of young Turkmen women is normally a coat of European cut, although the old robes have also been preserved. It is interesting to note that in some cases the national dress has been partly modified to make it more convenient for work. For example, the women are wearing their dresses much shorter than formerly and thread elastic through the sleeves. . . . However, in spite of all these changes, national forms are showing more resistance to change in women's dress than in men's."

### Family life

"While studying the family life of the Turkmens it is essential to take into account the fact that in the minds of many of them the consciousness of belonging to a definite clan or tribal subdivision is still alive. In the past the Turkmen people consisted of a large number of clans (urug) and subdivisions of clans (tire) which formed part of one or another tribal group (tayfa). . . . To this day in the memory of middle-aged workers are preserved legends of their ancestors and of the leaders of their tire whose history generally totals five or six generations. Many remember also the legends of the origin of their urug."

As recently as the 1930s, the Turkmen workers hardly differed in their way of life from the herdsmen, fishermen and farmers from whom they came: "The Turkmens who had quite recently been engaged in agriculture in the habitual closed society of their fellow clan-members and close relatives, came up against completely new working conditions in the oilfields. For the first time they had to work together with workers not only of different ethnographical (tribal) groups but even of different nationalities. In those days the survivals of the old patriarchal system and the influence of the Muslim religion were still firmly entrenched. Many members of the workers' families were still engaged in agriculture, especially livestock breeding, and the workers kept in touch with them. During the early years of Soviet power hostile elements tried intensively to persuade them not to work in the oilfields and not to trust workers of other nationalities, and tried to fan the flames of national discord. Immense educational work, in the first place on the part of Party organizations, was necessary to overcome this."

The head of the old Turkmen family was the oldest man; the rest of the family were obedient to him, especially the women. According to Islamic law the Turkmen woman depended entirely on her husband. She was forbidden to engage in socially useful labour, and for a long time there were no women in the Nebit-Dag oilfields. Soviet power has had such success in its policy of emancipating Turkmen women that today they are employed everywhere. More than 1,000 are being educated in Nebit-Dag and its surroundings, while before the Revolution there was not a single literate Turkmen woman. Many Turkmen women work as teachers and directors of schools (many with a higher education).(3) Two hundred are employed in the enterprises of Nebit-Dag.(4)

Friendly relations between Turkmen and members of other nationalities are such that one frequently comes upon mixed marriages, especially with Russians and Ukrainians. At every wedding or public festival representatives of other nationalities take part. Workers of different nationalities occupy neighbouring flats in the same block. At the same time such religious feasts as Uraza (Ramazan) and Kurban Bayram(5), together with the traditional rites connected with the birth and upbringing of children and with marriage are still frequently found.

The old view on daughters, that they are a burden, has been eliminated. "At the present time the inferior position of girls. . . in Turkmen workers' families has been done away with. More than 230 children of Turkmen workers are being educated in Russian schools; the Russian language has become the schoolchildren's second native language. . . The schools of Nebit-Dag and its surroundings contain more than 5,760 children, 2,687 of whom are Turkmen."(6)

"Although the cultural level of the Turkmen workers of Nebit-Dag is steadily rising, nevertheless there can still be observed among them certain rites which were widespread in the past". The azan, or prayer made by a mulla in honour of a newly-born boy, the chileden chykarmak - the custom of showing a child to the neighbours on the fortieth day after its birth (during the first forty days it is in danger from evil spirits), the dishlik toy - the festival of the tooth, held on the appearance of the child's first tooth to ensure that his teeth should be sharp and strong, the gulkap toy - the festival of the hair, a ceremonial cutting of the child's hair on its second birthday, and sunnet (circumcision) carried out when the child is five, six or seven - all these customs are still quite strong among the workers of Kazakhaul and Turkmenaul and among the rural population surrounding Nebit-Dag.

## Marriage

At the beginning of the present century it was still customary for girls to be married at the age of 9-12 and boys at that of 12-15, the marriage being arranged by their parents, sometimes before the children's birth or while they were still very young. The Yamut Turkmen did not practise, as did the Kara-Kalpaks for example, clan exogamy.(7) Even now cross-cousin marriages (between first and second cousins) are allowed, and even recommended.

Now, however, young men and women marry freely on grounds of mutual agreement and love. "The traditional marriage rites can still be observed everywhere. . . Together with the ancient rites new features can be observed in the modern marriage; a greater participation of young women in the ceremony, the performing of Russian and Azerbaydzhani songs and dances, etc. An interesting feature is that the bride is now carried out of her parents' house to the groom not on a horse or camel, as before, but most often in a truck (the groom's party frequently comes to fetch her in two or three trucks, taxis or motorcycles). The radiator of the bride's truck is sometimes decorated with the duye bashlyk shawl, a bag of carpet material (duye khalyk) is hung over the side of the vehicle while the girls standing in the chassis hold stretched out a richly embroidered curtain (kedzhebe). One can see in this a transformation of the ancient custom of taking away the bride in a tent set up on the back of a camel and bearing the same name - kedzhebe."

The weddings of the Yamut-Dzhafarbays differ from those of other Turkmen groups, including those of the Yamut-Atabays. The performance of the zikir(8) (a dance performed by a porkhan (soothsayer) while curing diseases) is an important part of the ceremony. Among this tribe can still be seen other traditional rites: the locking of the young couple's house against the bride and her party by young people who only open after they have received gifts, and a mock fight between the groom's guests (gelinalidzhi) who have come to take the bride, and the bride's guests, who defend her. This fight (dalash) is started by the women; the men join in later. The day of a wedding is still marked by a wrestling match (goresh) in which Russians, Azerbaydzhanis, Kazakhs etc., now take part. The winners are presented with prizes contributed by the relatives and friends of the groom.

Like the zikir dances, the musaib (best man)(9) is found only among the Yamut-Dzhafarbays. He accompanies the groom and helps in any way necessary, so as himself to receive similar help at his own marriage. The musaib at his own expense entertains the groom's friends for three days before the ceremony, smooths over any objections made by brothers or male relatives of the bride when the groom's representatives come for her, etc.

"At present one rarely meets such customs as kaytarma (the return of

the bride to her parents' house for a definite period), gizlenmek (elopement), etc. Bride price (kalym) also has disappeared from the way of life of Turkmen workers. However, cases can still be observed when kalym is taken in a concealed form as a 'gift' from the groom's family which sometimes reaches a large sum of several thousand rubles."

### Conclusion

"No matter how great the changes which have taken place in the family life of Turkmen workers, the harmful survivals in their family life have still not been completely overcome. They are supported most often by the older generation. All this is being combated by means of a campaign of scientific enlightenment and education, but, apparently, not energetically enough. It is obvious, however, that this inheritance of the past cannot long persist among Turkmen workers if it meets the correct attitude on the part of Soviet society."

### Notes

- (1) ARKHIV OB'YEDINENIYA "TURKMENNEFT'", G. NEBIT-DAG, fund 1, file 270, list 2. By the 1st October 1957 the number of workers employed at the installations of Turkmenneft' had reached 15,728 men, 4,001 of whom were Turkmens.
- (2) TURKMENSKIY NAROD V BOR'BE ZA VYPOLNENIYE CHETVERTOY PYATILETKI. T.G. Samedov, Moscow, 1953, p.7.
- (3) MATERIALY NEBITDAGSKOGO GORODSKOGO OTDELA NARODNOGO OBRAZOVANIYA ZA 1957 G.
- (4) VYSHKA (newspaper), 25th November 1956.
- (5) It is interesting to note that during the first days of the feast of uraza in the evenings groups of boys and girls go around the houses singing songs and receive gifts of money, cakes and sweets.
- (6) MATERIALY NEBITDAGSKOGO GORODSKOGO OTDELA NARODNOGO OBRAZOVANIYA ZA 1958 G.
- (7) "Byt karakalpakskogo kolkhoznogo aula", T.A. Zhdanko, SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1949, No.2, p.53.



- (8) The word zikir is of Arabic origin and refers also to the frenzy (radeniye) of the Dervishes. (See TURETSKO-RUSSKIY SLOVAR', Moscow, 1945, p.590.)
- (9) The word musaib is of Arabic origin and means 'acquaintance', 'comrade' or 'collocutor'. (See SRAVNITEL'NIY SLOVAR' TURETSKO-TATARSKOGO NARECHIYA, Vol.II, St.Petersburg, 1871, p.235.)

### The archaeology of Lake Issyk-Kul'

Almost the whole of the northern coast-line of Lake Issyk-Kul' has been excavated by the Kirgiz Academy of Sciences this year. Potsherds, fragments of wood, spear and arrow heads and bricks have been found. The excavations reveal that in the Middle Ages there were numerous Turkic settlements along the coast and the finds show quite a high level of craftsmanship. Three hypotheses are advanced as to how the settlements were submerged: (1) following their destruction by Chinghiz Khan there was a rise in the lake level; (2) the water rose gradually making the population move to higher ground; (3) it rose so suddenly that the settlements were flooded before the inhabitants could escape. The third supposition is the most plausible: it is confirmed by the large number of human bones found near Grigor'yevka, vast quantities of fragments of domestic goods found and by the fact that tectonic movements in the Tyan'-Shan' are quite frequent. Excavations will continue in 1960. (See also pp.351-8 above.)

SK. 5.9.59

### Afro-Asian cooperative organizations meet in Tashkent

The seminar of representatives of cooperative organizations of Asia and Africa opened in Tashkent early in August and continued until 15th September.

PV. 23.8.59; P. 3.9.59

## NEWS DIGEST

The following items are taken from newspapers and periodicals received during the period 1st July-30th September 1959. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

## ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES

Administrative changes

Azerbaydzhan (See also CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.VII, No.3, p.275.)

M.A. Iskenderov appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers in place of V.Yu. Akhundov. BR. 11.7.59

V.Ye. Semichastny appointed Second Secretary of the Central Committee in place of D.N. Yakovlev, retired through illness. P. 13.8.59

A.V. Kardashev appointed Chairman of the Council of State Security in place of F.I. Kopylov. BR. 2.9.59

Turkmenistan

P.P. Galonskiy relieved of post of Chairman of State Planning Commission and appointed First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers in place of G.A. Khorev. TI. 8.9.59

D.I. Pishchulin appointed Chairman of the Council of State Security in place of S.G. Bannikov. TI. 13.9.59

Uzbekistan

F.Ye. Titov appointed Second Secretary of the Central Committee in place of R.Ye. Mel'nikov. PV. 11.9.59

Territorial changesAzerbaydzhan

By decree of 24th August 1959 the settlement of Ismailly, Ismailly

rayon, has been included in the category of settlements of town type.

VVS. 3.9.59

By decree of 1st September 1959 the settlement of Agdzhabedi, Agdzhabedi rayon, has been included in the category of settlements of town type.

VVS. 17.9.59

### Uzbekistan-Tadzhikistan

In connection with the transfer from Uzbekistan to Tadzhikistan of 50,500 hectares of the Golodnaya step', the new boundary has been confirmed between the two republics by decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 1st July 1959:

From the junction of the boundaries of Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan 250 metres west of the railway bridge across the Farkhad diversion canal (derivatsionnyy kanal), the new boundary turns west on the south side of this canal along the railway line to the bridge on the main Begovat - Yangi-Yer road and along this road to the pumping station on canal M-2. Then along canal M-2 to its intersection with the Begovat - Ursat'yevskaya railway and along the railway to approximately 1.6km. east of Ursat'yevskaya.

From here the boundary turns south-west for 2km. until it meets the main Ursat'yevskaya - Ura-Tyube road and runs south-east along this road until its intersection with the planned path of canal TM-1. The boundary follows this canal for 5.5km. to the west, then turns north until it meets the Ursat'yevskaya - Obruchevo railway at a point 300 metres west of the railway buildings, leaving the village of Khavast in Uzbekistan.

Here the boundary follows the railway south-west for 25km. to a point 1km. east of Obruchevo station where it turns south to a point 1.3km. south-east of the station.

From this point the boundary turns south-east for 6.7km. across the 444.7 metre contour and after a further 5.4km. in the same direction reaches the height of 469.6 metres. Two kilometres to the east of this point the boundary reaches the planned path of a canal which is projected approximately along the 480 metre contour. The boundary then turns east along the path of this canal for approximately 31.5km. to the road leading to Uyaz-Kishlak and follows this road south for 7km. to the existing republican boundary.

VVS. 9.7.59

### Tadzhikistan

By decree of 7th August 1959 the Regar rayon and town soviets have been combined. The town of Regar has been subordinated to republican organs of control.

VVS. 20.8.59

By decree of 5th September 1959 the Shugnan rayon soviet (Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast) has been joined to the Khorog town soviet of workers' deputies, with the subordination to the latter of the village soviets of Vankala, Darmorakht, Porshinev and Barsem. VVS. 17.9.59

### Kazakhstan

By decree of 29th June 1959 the Kurashasaysk workers' settlement, Aktyubinsk city soviet, Aktyubinsk oblast, has been included in the category of rural settlements and subordinated to the Marzhanbulak rural soviet, Klyuchevoy rayon. VVS. 16.7.59

By decree of 31st July 1959 the inhabited point Aktau, Gur'yev oblast, has been included in the category of workers' settlements. VVS. 20.8.59

By decree of 14th August 1959 the boundaries of the city of Dzhabul have been extended to include the workers' settlements of Dzhabul and Sakharozavodskiy. VVS. 3.9.59

### ARCHAEOLOGY

An expedition sent out by the Department of Oriental Studies of the AN/SSSR has returned from the Pamirs with 27 valuable manuscripts found in villages of the Shugnan and Roshtkala rayons of the Gorno-Badakhshan AO.

The finds include fragments and complete works by Nosir Khisrou, tenth century poet and traveller.

A manuscript containing the adventures of Sayydn, part of the collection SARGUZASHT by Khasan Sabbakh, has also been discovered. This work was formerly known only by fragments quoted in Dzhuwayni's WORLD HISTORY. I. 13, 19.9.59

There has long been a theory among orientalists that the defensive walls which once encircled the oases of Bukhara and Merv and the remains of fortress wall which have been found scattered about the territory of Uzbekistan, point to the existence of a wall defending Central Asia against nomad incursions. This theory, it is reported, has now been confirmed.

From a close study of the extant sections of the wall Uzbek scholars have determined that walls were first built around oases and then joined. The wall was built approximately 2,000 years ago. At that time there were eight large oases on the territory of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tadzhikistan: Merv, Bukhara, Shakhriyabz, Samarkand, Nurata, Dzhizak, Fergana and Tashkent. It is supposed either that the walls around the

oases were joined together in the eighth century, or that the wall was built earlier and restored then. PV. 9.7.59

### CONFERENCES

Since the publication of material on the Joint Scientific Session of the Academies of Science of the USSR, Central Asia and Kazakhstan in CAR, Vol. VII, Nos.2-3, a new summary of its proceedings has appeared in VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK SSSR, 1959, No.8. It adds some information on the work of the conference, particularly on the present prosperity of the Central Asian peoples which they owe indirectly to the incorporation. This is emphasized for a twofold purpose: to illustrate the culmination of the "ancient friendship" and, from the propaganda point of view, to contrast it with the oppression of some Asiatic countries by the imperialists and to derive the usual conclusions from it. Another interesting point is a mention of cultural progress made by the Central Asians in the Tsarist period, which contradicts what various Soviet publications have made their readers believe. A.V. Pyaskovskiy revealed at the conference that the influence of the "leading Russian culture" on the Central Asian peoples had caused "the emergence amongst them of a Pleiad of distinguished cultural and social workers - scholars, writers and composers". He ended his lecture with an outline of some of the beneficial effects of the Revolution: "The colonial nations, once without any rights, have become free and enjoy equality of rights. Their territories, torn into pieces under the Tsars, have been united into independent national states which of their own free choice have become members of the Soviet Union and enjoy a status equal to that of the others. The national languages have become, besides Russian, state languages".

The same subject was discussed more widely by I.M. Muminov. Following the teaching of Lenin, the Central Asians have overcome their old economic and cultural backwardness and, by-passing the capitalist stage of evolution, proceeded to build socialism. The economic transformation of Central Asia has been achieved by "planned building and development of industry in the national republics of the Soviet East, creating a new system of economical division of labour which is based on equality, mutual trust and help and cooperation of the nationalities. . ."

A.A. Altmyshbayev dealt with the cultural progress made since the Revolution: although the incorporation had drawn the Central Asians closer to the Russian culture and the ideas of the Russian revolutionary democrats and Marxists, only the Bolshevik victory has set the country on the road to freedom and progress. Illiteracy has been suppressed and a modern education system developed. Great successes were the emancipation of women and the emergence of a national intelligentsia. Though Soviet culture has grown on the basis of the international ideology of Marxism-Leninism, "it develops

in accordance with the new, socialist content and national form".

I.I. Mints referred, as did other speakers, to the example provided by Soviet Central Asia for the underdeveloped and colonial countries of the East: "Now the Soviet republics in Central Asia and the Chinese People's Republic, together with the other socialist states of Asia, like a gigantic beacon illuminate the way to socialism for the Eastern peoples . . . The ideologists of colonialism in their struggle against the growing influence of the Central Asian republics attack the idea of the friendship of the Soviet peoples and, by twisting its nature, attempt to deny the voluntariness of the unification of the peoples of our country."

### EDUCATION

A recent article on Kazakh "Universities of Culture" noted that some of them were departing from their purpose, which is "to educate the man of the future", "to implant in people the principles of communist ideology and conscientiousness".

During the past year 53 such establishments (which are, in effect, evening schools) had been founded in the republic. Some were well-run; an example was that of Alma-Ata. Here, before the "university" was set up those who wished to attend were questioned as to the subjects they wished to hear treated. On the basis of their answers a course of lectures lasting 13 months was worked out. Attention was given to the problem of interesting both middle-school graduates and those with a higher education. The course of lectures covered scientific and technical subjects, the material of the XXIst Party Congress and Marxist-Leninist aesthetics.

Other "universities", however, had given too many lectures on the fine arts and had completely avoided science and technology. In some cases trivial lectures were being delivered, such as "The Rules of Good Behaviour", "How to Dress Well and Fashionably", "Style and Stilyagi", "Make-up and the Care of the Skin."

Such subjects may be interesting, observes the author, but they do not form part of the business of a "university of culture."

PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1959, No.9

Recently published statistics on the teaching staff and student body of the Turkmen Gor'kiy State University give the following information.

Among the teaching staff of the university 14 nationalities are represented, including 83 Russians, 64 Turkmens, 10 Ukrainians, 4 White Russians, 9 Armenians, 6 Azerbaydzhanis, 8 Jews and 10 Tatars.

Total pupils, both full-time and those taking evening classes and correspondence courses, number 3,842, including 1,149 Turkmens of whom 266 were women. In the historical faculty the comparable figures are: total 468; Turkmens 127; women 44. Of the 257 specialists turned out in 1958, 172 were Turkmens including 16 women. Of the 25 full-time students who graduated from the history faculty in 1958, 20 were Turkmens including 4 women.

VOPROSY ISTORII, 1959, No.7

At the VIth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CP of Tadzhikistan, held on 15th July 1959 (KT. 17.7.59), the report delivered by the First Secretary, T.U. Ul'dzhabayev, dealt exclusively with questions of Party organization. The most interesting sections were those dealing with the educational level of cadres which are summarized below:

#### Gorno-Badakhshan AO

Out of 56 kolkhoz chairmen and 299 "brigadiers", etc., there is no agricultural specialist with a higher technical education and only 11 with a middle technical education. Forty per cent of the total (118 men) have only an elementary education and are barely literate.

#### Leninabad oblast

Out of 119 kolkhoz chairmen only one has a higher technical and 7 a middle technical education. Out of 1,851 "brigadiers", etc., only 25 have higher or middle technical education. Of the chairmen 66 per cent, and 92 per cent of the "brigadiers", etc., are without middle technical education although in the oblast as a whole there are 295 agricultural specialists with higher and middle technical education.

#### Stalinabad city

Out of 52 directors of undertakings only 30 per cent have middle or higher technical education.

Out of 3,000 engineer-technicians employed by the Sovnarkhoz 33 per cent have no technical education. Out of 89 chief engineers 57 have a higher technical education, 17 middle technical education and 15 none at all.

It should be noted that Ul'dzhabayev's point is not that there is a lack of sufficiently educated cadres, but that they are too seldom to be found occupying responsible posts. It should also be remembered that an engineer without a formal technical education is not necessarily unfit for employment for that reason. His practical knowledge will probably be extensive.

Similar examples of an inefficient use of available resources are provided by individual factories. In the Stalinabad furniture factory out of 43 technicians received in 1958-9 only 7 are employed in their trade; 27 are employed as ordinary workers and 9 had to leave because no work was assigned them, in spite of the fact that the factory needs technicians. Similarly in Tadzhikenergostroy where 156 men with practical knowledge only (praktiki) are employed as engineers, 8 men with a middle technical education are not being employed according to their trade.

Of workers in academic institutions (nauchnyy kadry) Ul'dzhabayev says that between 1953 and 1959 the number of nauchnyye rabotniki (a term which includes all qualified research workers and some teachers in VUZ) was doubled and the number of non-Russian candidates for doctorates and doctors increased five times over the same period. At present in the republic there are 32 doctors of science and 426 candidates of all nationalities.

It appears, however, that the number of qualified academic personnel is inadequate. There are three chairs of physics at the Tadzhik State University but only two candidates of sciences to occupy them. At the Leninabad Teachers' Training College the chairs of physics, chemistry and higher mathematics are occupied by men without an academic degree. Even in the energetics section of the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences, of 6 research workers only one has a degree. Out of 629 nauchnyye rabotniki in the same Academy, 37 work also in other institutions: the 34 leading members of the Academy of Sciences between them carry out 256 various academic and social duties. They are thus heavily overworked.

Ul'dzhabayev commented unfavourably on the lack of academic cadres of non-Russian nationality. There is in the whole republic no native with a doctorate in physics, mathematics, chemistry, economics or agriculture. This may be partly explained by the fact which he had given earlier that the majority of teachers with a higher education stayed in the towns, while the country schools had to make do with less well qualified teachers. The great majority of Tadzhiks live in the country districts.

A point of interest in the debates which followed Ul'dzhabayev's report was the presence of the general commanding the Turkestan Military District, Colonel-General I.I. Fedyuninskiy. He spoke thanking the Central Committee and Government for the aid given by them to the military forces of the district. He did not, however, define the nature of this aid.



## IRRIGATION

The second section of the Karakum canal is to run from the Murgab river near Mary to Tedzhen, a distance of 130km. This will permit the irrigation of another 45,000 hectares in the Tedzhen oasis. In the region of Staraya Krepost' a reservoir is to be built with a capacity of 440m. cubic metres.

P. 1.9.59

## PHILOLOGY

Some of the difficulties which Tadzhik writers and translators experience in expressing Communist terminology are well brought out in an article in KT. of 2.10.59 called "The Further Development of Philosophy in Tadzhikistan". The article points out that the absence of a properly worked out philosophical terminology results in many discrepancies and varieties in the translation of important Communist terms. For instance, in one translation the term 'contradiction' (protivorechiye) is translated as ziddiyat and in another in an entirely different way, as mokhalefat. "There are also cases", says the article, "where quite different concepts are translated by the same word; for example, the translator of Lenin's work MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM, translates such concepts as 'perception' (vospriyatiye), 'learning' (znaniye), and 'notion' (poznaniye) by the one word danesh. A translation of this kind mutilates the meaning of the Russian text. Or to take another example, different concepts as yavleniye in the philosophical sense of 'essence' and yavleniye in the sense of 'event' are both translated by the word hadeseh." The Persian language, of which Tadzhik is a form, is, of course, rich in philosophical terms and it is interesting to note that no suggestion is made that Russian words should be substituted for Persian words in order to avoid ambiguity.

T H E   B O R D E R L A N D S   O F   S O V I E T  
C E N T R A L   A S I A

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S O V I E T   R E A P P R A I S A L   O F  
E A S T E R N   I D E O L O G I E S   A N D   R E L I G I O N S   \*

The need for a reappraisal

The 50th anniversary of Lenin's major work on philosophy, MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM(1), has been brought to the notice of Soviet orientalists, and also of the wider Soviet public interested in eastern affairs, by articles in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOV DENIYA No.2 and SOVREMENNY VOSTOK No.5 of 1959. Lenin's "great work of creative Marxism", says A.D. Litman in SOVREMENNY VOSTOK, dealt a shattering blow to bourgeois idealist philosophy when it appeared, and today is a powerful weapon against bourgeois ideologies and against revisionist falsifications of Marxism; it "inspires the advanced scholars of the whole world to struggle for materialism, democracy and peace and against idealism and reaction". For Soviet orientalists and philosophers studying the ideologies of the east, says Litman, Lenin's work is of "guiding significance"; there has been "a certain lagging behind" in this field, which a closer attention to "Lenin's great ideas" will help to overcome.

Soviet scholars, including many from the republics of Central Asia, Litman recalls, have produced valuable studies on the development of "progressive philosophical and social-political ideas" among the peoples of Central Asia and Transcaucasia - although, he remarks, the link between the latter and the philosophical thought of Persia, the Arab countries, India and China has not been clearly enough brought out in one important work.(2) As of particular interest Litman mentions the works of Academician I.M. Muminov of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences in which he analyses "the process of the development and struggle of various trends in the ideology of the Uzbek people" in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, and studies by K. Beysembiyev and Z.Sh. Radzhabov in

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\* An abridged version of parts of this article appeared in the MIZAN NEWSLETTER, No.7, July 1959.

the field of progressive philosophical and social-political thought among the Kazakh and Tadzhik peoples respectively. The publication in recent years of works on "such leading figures of the scientific and philosophic thought of the East" as Rudaki, Omar Khayyam, Abu Ali ibn-Sina (Avicenna) and the Azerbaydzhani philosopher of the eleventh century, Bahmanyar, is a step also praised by Litman.

The history of ideologies of the non-Soviet East has been studied by such renowned Soviet orientalist Academics F.I. Shcherbatskiy, S.F. Ol'denburg and B.Ya. Vladimirtsov and - in the field of Arab social thought - I.Yu. Krachkovskiy. Nevertheless, says Litman, in the light of "the historical processes which are taking place in countries of the East" Soviet study of "problems connected with the ideologies of peoples of the East" is still seriously inadequate - for example, study of the "powerful philosophical traditions" which, as in India, have influenced national movements for liberation from imperialism, or, as in China, are the centuries-old cultural and historical heritage of a great people. Also serious, Litman declares, is "the absence of works drawing general conclusions on the history of the ideologies of the Middle East".

It may be asked whether there are special reasons for a Soviet reappraisal of eastern ideologies at this particular juncture. (Litman makes it clear that in the term "ideologies" he includes social thought, philosophical traditions and religions as well as political ideologies.) Litman's own account of the reasons is as follows:

"The very process of the crisis and breaking up of the colonial system of imperialism, the powerful growth in the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa, the considerable successes achieved by the peoples of the East who have entered on the path of independent political and economic development, the magnificent achievements of the Asiatic countries of people's democracy in all fields of life - all this renders a many-sided and profound study of the ideologies of the peoples of the East and the ideology of their national liberation struggle vitally necessary. . . The historical processes which are taking place in countries of the East make it imperatively necessary to produce works which draw general conclusions and which with thoroughness and profundity analyse and disclose the general laws and specific peculiarities in the formation of ideologies of peoples of the East in connection with concrete experience of their social-economic and political development."

The above suggests that recent developments make it necessary for Soviet scholars to examine "specific peculiarities" of eastern ideologies which have hitherto escaped their analysis and to fit them into a coherent pattern which will accord with Leninist principles, including, evidently,

the Middle East:

"The development and successes of the national liberation movement in Arab countries and the growth of national consciousness of the Arab peoples raises particularly acutely the problem of preparing monograph works devoted to the study and interpretation of the centuries-old history of their philosophical and social-political thought. The absence of works drawing general conclusions on the history of the ideologies of the Middle East peoples is a substantial gap."

In the eastern countries themselves, Litman points out, scholars are doing fundamental research into the history of their social and philosophical thought - in India, Persia, the Arab countries and above all in China, where the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of China has drawn up a 12-year plan for such studies.

#### Eastern religions and eastern materialism

Litman points out that "in the development of ideological trends in countries of the East religion has played, and in a number of cases plays at the present time, a far from minor role". He goes on to speak of Gandhism in India as an example of a national liberation movement based on religious dogmas. These he used to popularize his doctrines among the people; thus when his policy of non-violence brought consciously undertaken sufferings upon his followers, he likened them to the ancient Indian religious custom of tapasya (penance). To illustrate the development of ideological trends in India in this connection, Litman quotes Jawaharlal Nehru:

"This idea of a certain penance, tapasya, is common to the thinking of the Indians, to both selected thinkers and to the illiterate lower classes. It is alive now, as it was alive several thousand years ago and it must be appreciated in order to understand the psychology at the basis of the mass movements which shook India under the leadership of Gandhi."(3)

This Litman contrasts with the "extremely reactionary doctrines" propagated by the Kuomintang in the name of Confucianism. At the same time, he asserts that eastern peoples have their own "materialist traditions"; and in the light of this he denounces "reactionary statements of bourgeois ideologists on the so-called 'contemplative-mystical' turn of mind of eastern thinkers and the 'inferiority' of the philosophical teachings of the East". He approves the views of "progressive" Eastern scholars who deprecate those of their fellow-countrymen who hold "nihilistic views on materialist trends in the history of social thought of their peoples", among them "the progressive Japanese philosopher Yanagida Kendzyuro [who]

described, for example, the contemptuous attitude towards materialism on the part of certain scholars of Japan: 'The word "materialism" means to many people nothing more than the worship of crude matter. These people consider that materialism in comparison with idealism and religion represents an ideology of a lower level, as a result of which they are contemptuous of it.'"(4)

Indian philosophical and social thought, says Litman, is "not only not inferior in its historical significance to the philosophical thought of the West, but in a number of questions is ahead of it"; the Indian philosopher M. Hiriyanna has "shown the existence of a solid materialist, atheistic stream in the development of Indian social thought". The Indian philosopher Manaranjan Roy, Litman continues, "regards the development of philosophical thought in ancient India as the history of the struggle of two basic trends: materialism and idealism. . ." He also notes "the important part" played by the Communist press of India.

In the Middle East too "advanced scholars" have done valuable work in this field:

"The Persian scholar Zabihollah Safa on the basis of a profound study of primary sources and extensive factual material gives a detailed account of the development of sciences and philosophy in the Near and in part of the Middle East.(5) The Arab researcher Yuhana Qumayr in his book THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ARABS, published in 1947 in Beirut, shows the enormous fruitful development of philosophical thought among Arab peoples."

Soviet orientalists and philosophers, Litman says, must "produce fundamental Marxist works giving. . . a profound analysis of materialist philosophical doctrines in the East". He goes on to explain how Lenin saw the history of philosophical thought in terms of a constant struggle between idealism and materialism - in Lenin's words, "a struggle which, in the last analysis, expresses the tendencies and ideology of hostile classes in contemporary society". This doctrine of the class origin of ideological trends, says Litman, is basic for the study of eastern ideologies and the "complex, contradictory and specifically original processes" in their development, each of which must be seen in its proper historical perspective:

"Only a profound analysis of philosophical and social-political ideas in relation to the concrete arrangement of class forces, taking into consideration the peculiarities of the social practices of the time, makes possible an intelligible explanation of their real role in the historical development of a given people."

### The Soviet view of Islam

Articles on the MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM anniversary have appeared widely in Soviet philosophical and Party journals; and it might therefore be thought that the PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA article merely represents a Soviet orientalist's tribute to the anniversary and to Leninist orthodoxy. However, the purposeful tone of the article and its authoritative references to "lagging behind" and shortcomings in Soviet studies suggest that a programme of analysis and reassessment of eastern ideologies is in fact envisaged, which, among other things, will entail a closer examination of the ideologies of Middle East nationalist movements and also of Middle East philosophical and religious traditions - that is, principally, Islam.

The Soviet view of Islam is stated as follows in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Vol.18, 1953:

"Islam, like other religions, has always played a reactionary role, representing in the hands of the exploiting classes an instrument of spiritual oppression of the workers, and it was used by the foreign colonizers for the enslavement of the peoples of the East."

However, speaking of the sects of Islam, the article says that these were in some cases "an expression of powerless protest of the working masses against class oppression and feudal oppression". Ye.A. Belyayev, in MUSLIM SECTARIANISM, 1957, says that popular movements which appeared in the guise of Islamic sects could not in the nature of things be successful:

"The religious form of these movements must be recognized as one of the basic reasons for the final failure of the sectarian movements, the rank-and-file participants in which attempted to establish a kingdom of truth and justice on the earth; no religion can serve as a means of liberating the people from oppression and exploitation."

Nevertheless, in the Soviet view, religion can be the vehicle of progressive change: in its article on "religion" the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia (Vol.36, 1955) says:

"In the history of society the replacement of certain religious beliefs by others may, in determined conditions of social structure, be connected with progressive manifestations in the life of peoples, as for example early Christianity, the conversion of Russia, etc.; but this does not alter either the reasons for the emergence of religious ideas or their essence."

This duality in the Soviet academic approach to religion is the counterpart of the dual attitude adopted in the matter of anti-religious propaganda - the attitude defined, for instance, in a Party Central Committee statement published in PRAVDA of 11th November 1954, which declared that the Soviet Communist Party "considers it necessary to conduct a profound systematic scientific-atheist propaganda, at the same time, however, not allowing the religious feelings of believers and also of devotees of a cult to be offended".

In his PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA article Litman, like other Soviet writers, is not unapproving in his references to political aspects of certain religious movements; but, unlike other Soviet writers, he does not accompany these references with the traditional Soviet condemnation of religion as such. Instead, he suggests that the natural corrective for eastern religious idealism is to be found in the East itself, in traditions of eastern materialism which it is now the duty of Soviet scholars to disclose and expound. This study of eastern materialism apparently represents a new initiative for Soviet scholars; it would not be surprising if it were accompanied by a new approach to eastern religions themselves.

#### Notes

- (1) In THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF COMMUNISM, 1951, p.168, R.N. Carew Hunt says of Lenin's MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM: "This work was his [Lenin's] major contribution to Marxist philosophy in his lifetime. . . . After the October Revolution it became, however, the standard of intellectual orthodoxy, any departure from which could be represented as being as much an act of treachery to the revolutionary movement as were divergences on questions of Party strategy and tactics."
- (2) OCHERKI PO ISTORII FILOSOFSKOY I OBSHCHESTVENNO-POLITICHESKOY MYSLI NARODOV SSSR. 2 vols., 1955-6; published jointly by Inst. of Phil., AN/SSSR and Moscow State Univ.
- (3) THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA. Jawaharlal Nehru, p.95.
- (4) THE EVOLUTION OF MY WORLD OUTLOOK. Yanagida Kendzyuro, Moscow, 1957, p.132.
- (5) A footnote here mentions Zabihollah Safa's HISTORY OF RATIONAL SCIENCES IN THE HISTORY OF ISLAM UP TO THE FIFTH CENTURY A.H., Tehran, 1913 - in Persian.

THE MURDER OF GRIBOYEDOV  
IN TEHRAN

January 1829

On 30th January 1829 the Russian Ambassador in Tehran was murdered by a mob which burst into the Embassy buildings, massacred with one exception the entire staff, and destroyed and looted the buildings. The ambassador was Aleksandr Sergeyevich Griboyedov, one of the most brilliant young writers of his age and the author of a classical Russian comedy *GORE OT UMA* (Woe from Wit).

Most historians are agreed that the general cause of the outrage was widespread hostility to Russia in Persia at that time, and that the immediate provocation was Griboyedov's personal unpopularity and tactlessness in Tehran. Since the turn of the century, Russia, as she pressed south through the Caucasus mountains, had been almost constantly in conflict with Persia: the conflict sometimes taking the form of open war and sometimes of an uneasy peace. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Christian principalities of Transcaucasia, chief of which was Georgia, turned to the Russians, who by now were established on the northern foothills of the Caucasus, for protection against their Muslim overlords. George XII of Georgia bequeathed his kingdom to Russia in 1801 and in order to establish her position there, Russia had perforce to extend her rule over other lesser vassals of Persia. The shifting alliances of the Napoleonic wars gave Persia significance to the European powers and brought her new allies. In 1807 Napoleon promised to help Persia to recover her lost northern provinces, but French military aid was withdrawn after the Tilsit agreement between Alexander I and Napoleon. Britain stepped into the place left by France and under a treaty of 1810 promised financial and military aid, but 1812 saw the renewal of the Anglo-Russian alliance and the end of Russia's war with Turkey. Persia was left at the mercy of her northern neighbour. In 1813 the Russo-Persian war was temporarily ended by the treaty of Gulistan by which Persia formally ceded her northern provinces to Russia. But the treaty was not ratified until 1816 and even then the ambiguous wording of certain clauses continued to give rise to diplomatic disputes and general ill-feeling. At the instigation of Abbas Mirza, the Heir-Apparent and ruler of Persian Azarbaijan, Persia continued to prepare for another war. Early in 1826 rumours of the Decembrist revolt reached Tehran. The Persians seized the opportunity and in July 1826 their troops



crossed the frontier. But the Persian troops were no match for the Russians who, by the autumn of 1827, drove them back across the Aras River and advanced to Tabriz itself. By the treaty of Turkmanchay (February 1828) Russia retained her former conquests, with the addition of the khanate of Erivan, and Persia had to pay Russia an indemnity of five million tumans. One of the negotiators of this treaty was Griboyedov who a few months later was posted to Persia as Russian Ambassador.

Griboyedov had no illusions about his new position. His chief tasks were to receive the indemnity monies and to arrange for the exchange of prisoners. He had little sympathy with Persia or with oriental life, but he was aware of the effects of the crippling indemnity on an already impoverished land. He was no less conscious of the hostility felt by a humiliated and defeated Persia towards her victor and towards himself as the instrument of her humiliation. "What can I tell you about my life?" he wrote to V.S. Miklashevich on 3rd December 1828. "I watch to see that there is no treachery from this side during our skirmishes with the Turks." (Russia was engaged in a war with Turkey.) "I levy the indemnity quite successfully. I have no friends and I seek none. They must above all fear Russia and carry out the orders of the Emperor Nicholas, and I can assure you that in this I am more successful than those who would start to insinuate themselves into future Persian friendships. To all I appear stern and I am called sakhtir. . ." (the grasper or snatcher).

It has generally been agreed on the basis of the available evidence, which consists of Persian Government reports and the account given by the First Secretary, Mal'tsov, the sole survivor from the disaster, that the mob at whose hands the staff of the Russian Mission met their death were inspired by fanatical Muslim clergy and that Griboyedov was himself somewhat to blame for his overbearing behaviour. G.M. Petrov, however, a leading Soviet historian on Persia, published in 1952 a document found in the archives of a former commander of the Shah's Cossack Brigade which sheds new light on the murder. The document, written nearly seventy years after the murder, is an account of the incident compiled by Prince Suleyman Khan Melikov, whose uncle of the same name perished in the Russian Embassy alongside Griboyedov. Melikov was given his information by his father and other unspecified persons. According to his evidence: "The late Griboyedov was fearless, brave, honourable, upright, and devoted in the highest degree to his fatherland and State. He could not be moved by bribery or flattery. . . Like a hero, he defended the rights and interests of Russian subjects and Russian dependents. These qualities of Griboyedov were distasteful to the officials of the Persian Government. They were constantly malevolent towards him, and took counsel together to find means of driving him out of Persia. They were for ever trying to slander and accuse him. But the Ambassador paid no attention to all these intrigues. He continued firmly and unwaveringly to act in the interests of his country and of Russian subjects. When the officials of the Persian

Government saw that all their intrigues and machinations were useless, they first turned secretly to the Muslim clergy and by oaths and assurances convinced the clergy that if they allowed Griboyedov to continue to act as he had acted before, then, before long their Muslim religion would be abused and the Persian State would finally perish. Secondly, they alerted Shah Fath-Ali against Griboyedov and told him every day that not only was Griboyedov implacable, stern and insolent in matters to do with Russian subjects and Russia in general, but also that . . . he let no occasion slip to be insulting and disrespectful to the most august person of His Majesty. Gradually they turned the Shah against Griboyedov. Convinced of the need to remove such an unbearable ambassador, the Shah agreed to seek means to bridle this indomitable man." Melikov goes on to describe how, at the same time, two Georgians, prisoners in Persia, appealed to Griboyedov to use his good offices to enable them to return to their homeland. One was a certain Mirza Yaqub and the other a Georgian girl who claimed she had been forcibly married to the powerful Russophobe and uncle of the Heir-Apparent, Allahyar Khan. Griboyedov addressed notes to the Persian Government requesting their release. "Allahyar Khan, notorious for his scheming, cunning and hatred for Russia, asked for five days grace, implying that in those five days he would carry out the request of the Russian Ambassador. But instead of fulfilling Griboyedov's request, he went to the mojtahed of Tehran, Mirza Masih, and persuaded him to stir up the people against the late Griboyedov and the Russian Mission, and he also appeared before Shah Fath-Ali and reported to him that all the Tehran clergy, led by the mojtahed Mirza Masih, had decided unanimously to raise the people against Griboyedov. Shah Fath-Ali, believing himself to have been insulted by Griboyedov, said that he was not against this and that he would like to teach that man a lesson. The Shah's words emboldened Allahyar Khan and the mojtahed Mirza Masih. . . ." At this time, Melikov continues, the Shah's chief eunuch and confidant was an Armenian who, learning of the plot, called Melikov's father to him and ordered him immediately to tell Griboyedov all that he knew and to warn him and all the members of the Russian Mission to escape on the following day when the outrage was to be perpetrated. Melikov's father came home and told his brother, Suleyman Khan Melikov. At dawn the next day, Suleyman Khan Melikov went to the Russian Mission, warned Griboyedov of the impending attack and urged him to take refuge with his staff at his own home. "The late Griboyedov scorned these stories, did not believe them and said that no one would dare to raise his hand against the Russian Imperial Mission." Suleyman Khan's companions reported that Griboyedov was adamant and even became angry with Suleyman Khan, calling him a coward. Suleyman Khan then sent one of his companions to the chief eunuch to tell him what had happened and himself resolved to stay with Griboyedov. Meanwhile, the chief eunuch, learning that the mojtahed had already gathered the people in the mosque and had pronounced sentence of death on Griboyedov, went to the Shah to urge him to prevent the outrage. The Shah said that he had already ordered one of his sons to disperse the people if they should attack the

Russian Mission, but the chief eunuch knew that in fact Prince Zill-es-Sultan "was occupied with his own affairs and had no thought of going to the Russian Mission". The chief eunuch "reminded the Shah that if he did not take immediate measures to prevent this scandal he would be answerable to the Russian Government. Angered at these words, Shah Fath-Ali. . . immediately sent his farrash-bashi (commander of the palace guard) with a troupe of guards to defend the Russian Mission, with orders to disperse the people. . . and to apprehend the instigators of the disorder. But whether from fear, or intentionally, the farrash-bashi, like Prince Zill-es-Sultan, tarried." Unimpeded, the mob rushed to the Mission and started to batter down the doors. Suleyman Khan Melikov urged Griboyedov at least to gather his staff together for a united defence, but this too Griboyedov refused to do. In the slaughter that followed not one inmate of the Mission was left alive, and the buildings were wrecked and looted.

G.M. Petrov, who published Melikov's document, gives no evidence for its validity and, even if genuine, the information is all at best second-hand. Nonetheless it seems to be the only evidence on Griboyedov's murder from neither a Russian nor a Persian source: Melikov was an Armenian. It is interesting that in a footnote to his commentary, Petrov refers to an article in RUSSKOYE SLOVO No.214 of September 1910 which also used Melikov's memoirs, but, he writes, "an acquaintance with these 'memoirs' has convinced us that the facts have been distorted and given by the newspaper in a tendentious light, i.e. in the spirit of the official story according to which A.S. Griboyedov himself was at fault in all the events of the 30th January 1829." The newly discovered document certainly provides striking evidence for the Soviet line that the guilty party was the Persian Government itself. Petrov, indeed, even implies that the British, as the allies of Persia against Russia, were the true instigators of the murder.

The Russian Government accepted the Persian Government's denial of complicity. Russia was at the time once more at war with Turkey and most anxious to prevent a renewed war with Persia. A Persian envoy came to Moscow to make a humble apology to the Tsar and Persia paid off her indemnity to Russia; but there seems never to have been any question from the Russian side of retaliation by war or even of demanding "blood-money". [On this point V. Minorskiy has published a letter from the Shah to one of his sons discussing the compensation to be paid to the Russians.] Russia demanded that the instigators be punished and it seems probable that Mirza Masih was expelled from Tehran and that many of the mob were punished. But these were the only repercussions. Griboyedov, one of Russia's most brilliant writers, died for a policy in which he had little faith, in a country for whom he had little sympathy, and was unavenged by the government he had served perhaps over-zealously.

Sources

1. G.M. Petrov: "New material on the Murder of A.S. Griboyedov". UCHENYYE ZAPISKI INSTITUTA VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, 1952, VIII, pp. 146-65. This article gives the text of Melikov's document which is entitled "Information about the murder in Tehran of the Russian Imperial Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Minister to the Persian Court, Griboyedov, which was collected by Prince Suleyman Khan Melikov, whose own uncle Prince Suleyman Khan Melikov was killed on the same day in the Russian Imperial Mission together with the late Griboyedov and other members of the Russian Mission." The date of Melikov's document is 30th July 1897.
  2. V. Minorskiy: "The 'blood-money' of Griboyedov. An unpublished document." Offprint from RUSSKAYA MYSL', Bk.III-V, 1923.
  3. M.N. Pokrovskiy: DIPLOMATIYA I VOYNY TSARSKOY ROSSII V XIX STOLETII. Moscow, 1923, pp.179-95.
  4. V.O. Klyucheskii: SOCHINENIYA. Vol.V: A Course of Russian History, Part V, Moscow, 1958, pp.194-6.
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Tadzhik kolkhozniks in Delhi exhibition

The "Communism" kolkhoz in the Pyandzh rayon of Tadzhikistan has been chosen, as the best kolkhoz in the republic, to take part in the World Exhibition of the Achievements of National Economy which is to take place this year in Delhi. KT. 2.8.59

Indian doctors visit Soviet Union

The well-known Indian doctors Khotuba and Pushpa Naik have arrived in the Soviet Union; they are husband and wife. P. 4.8.59

Indian film in Moscow festival

An Indian film opened the First Moscow International Film Festival. P. 5.8.59

M O H A M M A D   H E J A Z I   -   A   P E R S I A N  
N O V E L I S T

The following is an abridged translation of an article by D. Komissarov entitled "Mohammad Hejazi and his SERESHK", which appeared in KRATKIYE SOOBSHCHENIYE INSTITUTA VOSTOKO-VEDENIYA, 1958, No. XXVII.

In the article "The Feminist Movement in Persia" which appeared in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.VII, No.1, and was taken from the same source, mention was made of Mohammad Hejazi on pages 78-79. In the present article, Komissarov expresses the view that in his later works, and particularly in SERESHK, Hejazi has been forced by public opinion to reflect the anti-American sentiments now said to be widespread among the Persian people.

. . .

Hejazi's career - Earlier works - PARVANEH and SERESHK - Conclusion.

Hejazi's career

Komissarov begins his article by describing Mohammad Hejazi as a famous Persian prose writer whose works occupy an important place among the last decade's large output of novels, short novels and short stories. The following biographical details are then given, taken largely from the works of Nasrollah Shifteh and Sadr Hashemi(1):

"Hejazi received a secondary education at the Tehran school of St. Louis, after which he lived in Europe for a while. Returning to Tehran he held various government posts at the Ministry of Posts and Telegraph and in the Finance Department. At the Institute for the Orientation of Public Opinion he directed the Press Commission while at the same time publishing the journal IRAN-E-EMRUZ, which was in fact an organ of the Commission; both the journal and the Institute as a whole had as their chief aim the glorification of Reza Shah and of his policy. After the events of August 1941 Hejazi was for a time head of the Persian propaganda department. In latter years he has held various official posts and has been abroad many times, recently visiting the USA."

Earlier works

Komissarov's account of Hejazi's earlier works begins as follows:

"Hejazi made his literary début at the beginning of the 1920s. While in Paris he wrote the novel HOMA which was first published in Persian at Tehran in 1927 and was twice reprinted in the following years. In 1929 he published the novel PARICHEHR which also went into a number of editions. His third novel, ZIBA, consists of two parts. The basic theme of all three novels is the fate of the Persian woman, but, whereas the author acquaints us with spoilt women from bourgeois families in the case of Parichehr and Ziba, in his portrayal of Homa he gives us an exemplary woman from the same social background. These novels are fundamentally didactic in character, although we do also find in them sometimes a criticism of some aspects of the life of representatives of the urban middle class (ZIBA).

"Hejazi has also written some short stories which were published in Tehran journals and reprinted in collected editions, one of which, AINEH (The Mirror)(2) contained fifty stories. These are written in simple language and deal with the private aspects of domestic life and some of the negative features of human nature. The author makes an appeal to do no harm, not to oppress one's neighbour and to improve men's morals. There are many such stories, including AIBJUYI KAR-E-BAD AST (Looking for Faults is a Bad Thing), DO RAFIQ (Two Comrades), and PEZESHK-E CHASHM (The Oculist)."

All the stories in this collection show, according to Komissarov, Hejazi's tendency to use the medium for preaching against the social vices hindering the development of society. It is natural that Hejazi should use the short story and brief narrative of one to three pages, Komissarov continues, as these are more suited to modern conditions in Persia than the long novel which is difficult to print and to sell and reaches only a limited circle of readers, whereas the short story appearing in a cheap magazine or newspaper is more accessible.

Komissarov then turns to two more recent volumes of collected short stories: ANDISHEH (Meditation) and SAGHER (The Goblet)(3). These stories he characterizes as simple descriptions of a particular event followed by a concluding admonition and as attempts by their author "to show various negative aspects of human nature and some of the defects in Persian life". Komissarov then criticizes the "idealistic" and "ineffective" solutions which Hejazi proposes for eliminating vice and improving social behaviour, and accuses him of not attempting to disclose the real reasons which give rise to such vices and of thinking it possible by persuasion to get evil-doers voluntarily to give up their bad habits. "Even the stories on social themes", Komissarov declares, "where the moralizing is not without common sense, look naive and idealistic."

As examples of this Komissarov gives the stories ABRU (Dignity) and 'ESHQ BE KAR (Love of Action), both in ANDISHEH. In ABRU the mother of three daughters and one son is widowed and the family is near starvation because the son earns only a little and yet will not allow his sisters to go out to work as that would be beneath his dignity. Then "after a patient explanation", Komissarov writes, "the brother's obstinacy was broken, the girls went off to work, the danger that a whole family might perish had passed and all of them settled down to a happy and joyful life. It turns out that an ordinary exhortation is enough to make Persian men renounce their backward, feudal attitude towards women." In the case of 'ESHQ BE KAR Hejazi is accused of attacking idleness and laziness while "quite passing over the fact that in Persia a worker is frequently unable to find any work. The impression is given that people do not want to be actively occupied and the author reproaches them for that." Other stories from ANDISHEH which receive Komissarov's attention are PAND-E RUSTA (The Peasant's Admonition), which he calls an attempt to put the smug, haughty and wealthy sons of noblemen to shame, and SANG-E RIZEH (The Little Stone), where a man suffers pain and discomfort from a small stone in his boot, drawing from the author the following comment: "We must picture to ourselves clearly what we want and if it be something practicable and feasible we must exercise self-denial; if Utopian then reject it immediately and not let it worry us." (ANDISHEH, p.224.)

Most of the stories in SAGHIR are, says Komissarov, on the subject of love. He mentions MA'SHUQ-E-SHA'IR (The Poet's Lady-Love), YAR-E-NADIDEH (The Invisible Friend) and GOL-E-BIGONAH (The Innocent Flower), and gives a brief summary of the last-named. "A young girl is watering flowers, but refuses to water a red rose to punish it for not blooming. A man, however, admonishes the girl, telling her that the rose is innocent, she must be patient and continue looking after it for a little while longer and it will bloom. Having convinced the girl the man then tells her his own grief: 'I too have an innocent flower which withered for want of my attention. I will go and kiss it and water it with my tears. . .'" (p.45.)

"The same moralizing attitude is to be found in the stories which go to make up the volume AHANG (Melody)(4)", Komissarov continues. He finds these stories rather boring and monotonous attempts to persuade a poor man of the advantage of riches, the usefulness of learning and the importance in women of thrifty housekeeping.

Hejazi, says Komissarov, tries in his stories to imitate Sa'adi without, he claims, arriving at anything more than a very remote resemblance between them and the didactic stories in the GOLESTAN. All Hejazi does in fact is "to try and modernize Sa'adi's style and make him serve the ends of the present-day bourgeoisie. He replaces a realistic method of describing reality by abstract moralizing and medieval didactics."

Komissarov notes a new trend in Hejazi's work coinciding with political changes and appearing first of all at the end of the 1940s in his play MAHMUD AGARA VAKIL KONID (Make Mahmud Aga a Deputy), which was played in 1949 on the stage of the Tamashakhaneye Tehran. He remarks that it was unusual for a far from progressive theatre to have on its stage a play which was neither anti-democratic nor reactionary, particularly having regard to the fact that so very few Persian plays written between the 1920s and '40s were ever performed. This play, he says, shows up the bribery, threats and blackmail used by the propertied classes to get into the Majles, where businessmen use their positions as deputies to further their own profits and "transform the Majles into a tool of political intrigue". Komissarov is reminded by the play's subject-matter of a Sadeq Hedayat story, HAJJI AGHA, published four years previously: indeed, he adds, one of the chief characters in Hejazi's play bears that very name, so that one might get the impression that "Hejazi in his play, like Hedayat in his story, was pursuing the aim of condemning the existing political system in Persia. There is, however," he continues, "a vital difference between the two plays", for whereas Hedayat shows a dying reactionary class trying to strangle the new-born democratic movement and contrasts an honest man with the political charlatan Hajji Agha, Hejazi "only unmask the adventurers who try to worm their way into the Majles in their own selfish, careerist interests, while no mention is made of their anti-national and anti-popular nature. Hejazi, then, does not expose social evil but tries to prove that all that that need be done is to remove certain 'vicious persons' and make room for the activities of governmental groupings. In other words, Hejazi's work MAHMUD AGARA VAKIL KONID reflects only the struggle for power of political groupings, the author's sympathies lying with those ruling the state."

#### PARVANEH and SERESHK

PARVANEH (The Butterfly) and SERESHK (Tears) were published by Hejazi in the early 1950s, and in 1954 earned their author the Shah's first prize (50,000 rials). Komissarov comments that the prize emphasized "the role assigned to Hejazi and his works in official Persian literature". PARVANEH he describes as bearing an astonishing resemblance to Emile Zola's THERÈSE RAQUIN, apart from a few secondary details added to give a national flavour. In this work, he continues, "the author sings of poetry and love while condemning ignorance, dull-witted, huckstering meanness and profit-chasing. All that, however, does not change the basic trend of the work the main theme of which is eroticism entirely devouring a man's life and leading him on to nervous shock and to death."

For the rest of his article Komissarov concentrates on the short novel SERESHK, a tale of two young Americans enslaved by passionate eroticism and their sick imaginations. They marry, the wife becomes insanely jealous,



she has her husband followed and then blinds him when she thinks she has discovered him to be unfaithful. Komissarov comments as follows: "Here, quite clearly depicted, is the way of life of modern American bourgeois society, one governed by an extreme egoism which leads a man to utter mental derangement and to crime. Everything is based on eroticism. All Leda's (the heroine's) actions are subordinated to an unconscious biological attraction which turns her into an abnormal person subject to the basest motivations." Hejazi's "archaic and primitive" language, which according to Komissarov is similar to the prose style of Sa'adi's *GOLESTAN* and lacks the popular expressions which adorn the stories of Jamalzadeh and Hedayat, is, he declares, well suited for describing a world where people are guided "not by reason and elevated feelings but by egoism, passions and instinct".

SERESHK does not represent in Komissarov's opinion an attempt by the author to spread Freudian ideas; Hejazi's sympathy does not lie with the hero and heroine, says Komissarov, but on the contrary he spares no pains to show the ugly aspects of the American way of life, and tries carefully and subtly to fill us with disgust for the heroine's acts. Another story, *NASER AND MAHIN*, appearing in the same volume as *SERESHK* and telling of the healthy and idyllic love of two young Persians, makes clear to Komissarov the author's aims. "It is easy", he explains, "to understand that Hejazi wrote his neat story *NASER AND MAHIN* to contrast it with his story *SERESHK*. It is as if the author were advising Persian mothers and young women to beware of 'dangerous' love and were calling them to the ideal of *NASER AND MAHIN*." To show that Hejazi's intention in *SERESHK* was to edify, Komissarov quotes the last sentence in the book where the author expresses the hope that his story will serve as a lesson for his readers, help to increase family happiness and contribute to the well-being of Persian society. Komissarov comments that it is evident from this sentence that Hejazi is concerned about the moral condition and education of modern Persian youth and about the disruptive influence of the American way of life in the home and, "in his opinion, on bourgeois society as a whole". Hejazi remains, however, a bourgeois writer Komissarov declares, and wants to cure Persian society of its vices without altering social conditions but "by means of interior self-perfection alone".

### Conclusion

Komissarov holds that it would not be right to identify the positive ideas in *SERESHK* with Hejazi's ideology, for, he says, *SERESHK*, like *MAHMUD AGARA VAKIL KONID*, marks a deviation, perhaps a temporary one, from his fundamental opinions which show him to be no progressive writer. *SERESHK*, he says, is not the only case in Persian bourgeois literature of a work which exposes the unattractive sides of American life; there is also Professor Said Nafisi's book *NIMERAH-YE BEHESHT* (Halfway to Paradise), re-

published in Tehran in 1953, which criticized the westernized Persian aristocracy.

"The realism of SERESHK lies also in the way it reflects the anti-American sentiments of a part of the Persian bourgeoisie (sentiments which are even more widespread among the Persian people) to whom the fate of the country's young generation is not a matter of indifference. This example shows that even when a bourgeois writer wants to pass over life's burning questions in silence it is not easy for him to do so.

"The other reason why Hejazi was induced to write his story must be looked for in the features peculiar to the literary movement in contemporary Persia. The last fifteen years have seen, as is well known, the considerable advance made by progressive Persian literature which has won the people's sympathy by criticizing the vices of Persian society and dealing boldly with vital problems. Under these conditions even bourgeois writers have been obliged to give thought to some aspects of present-day life in Persia. This is what gave rise to such stories as SERESHK and to the mood of anxiety for the national literature (although in Hejazi's works this has to be of the LEYLA AND MAJNUN type), and the fate of society in the case of a number of writers.

"Thus the realist trend is winning itself a place in contemporary Persian literature."

### Notes

- (1) Nasrollah Shifteh: BIOGRAPHIES OF 100 PEOPLE, 2 vols., Tehran, 1331; Mohammad Sadr Hashemi: HISTORY OF THE NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES OF PERSIA, Vol.I, Esfahan, 1327, pp.325-30.
- (2) Mohammad Hejazi: AINEH, Third Impression, Tehran, 1321.
- (3) Mohammad Hejazi: ANDISHEH, Tehran, First Impression 1319, Second Impression 1322; SAGHER, Second Impression, Tehran, 1322.
- (4) Mohammad Hejazi: AHANG, Second Impression, Tehran, 1333.

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### "Lenin Park", Cawnpore

A park named after Lenin was opened in Cawnpore in July.

BR. and C.A. newspapers, 22.7.59

## CURRENT SOVIET VIEWS ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH INDIA

The following is an analysis of a cross-section of recent Soviet writings on the subject of Soviet-Indian economic relations. An attempt to give some idea of the bulk and range of such material was made in the last number of the CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW in the article "Current Soviet Writing on India". (See CAR, Vol.VII, No.3.) The present article includes, however, material from Soviet newspapers, which were outside the scope of the previous article, as well as from a periodical.

The first section of the present article is based on some of the assertions and observations of G. Velikiy in his article "Vazhnyy etap v razvitii sovetско-indiyskikh ekonomicheskikh otnosheniy" (An Important Stage in the Development of Soviet-Indian Economic Relations) which appeared in VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA, 1959, No.2. The section on oil is from B. Ivanov's article "Na pomoshch' prikhodit drug" (A Friend Lends a Hand) in PRAVDA VOSTOKA of the 17th June 1959, and the last section is taken from N. Muradov's article "Azerbaydzhan - Indii" (From Azerbaydzhan to India) in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY of the 8th April 1959.

. . .

### The situation at present

Velikiy begins his article by tracing the history of Soviet-Indian economic development up to the agreement of the 16th November 1958 through the stages marked by the trade agreement of the 2nd December 1953, the VIP visits between the two countries, the agreement to build the Bhilai steel plant, the November 1957 agreement to construct various industrial undertakings, the allocation of credits, the training of Indian factory personnel in the Soviet Union, and the discovery in the autumn of 1958 of oil at Cambay and Jawalamukhi. He continues as follows:

"In the four years covered by the first trade agreement the turnover of merchandize between the USSR and India increased from 7m. rubles in 1953 to 506m. rubles in 1957. In 1958 the volume of Soviet-Indian trade surpassed the level reached in the previous year. From January 1954 to October 1958 the Soviet Union exported various machines and equipment to India (including equipment for the Bhilai steel plant), to the value of

565m. rubles. Included in this amount were over 700,000 tons of rolled ferrous metals, about 13,000 tons of non-ferrous metals, 35,000 tons of newsprint and other goods.

"In the same period the Soviet Union bought in India about 25m. pieces of rawhide for small-scale working (melkoye kozhevennoye syr'ye), 8,000 tons of wool, more than 5,000 tons of shellac, 113m. rubles' worth of tea, 50m. rubles' worth of jute products and a number of other goods necessary to the national economy of the USSR.

"As a result of the increase of trade between the two countries the USSR has become one of the biggest suppliers to India of a number of goods, satisfying 17 per cent of her import requirements of rolled ferrous metals, 12 per cent of zinc, over 10 per cent of newsprint, etc. At the same time the USSR has become a major buyer of a number of Indian goods. The proportion of Soviet purchases of Indian exports amounts to over 25 per cent, for example, in the case of rawhide for small-scale working, 50 per cent of black pepper, about 20 per cent of uncombed wool (syraya sherst'), about 25 per cent of castor oil, 10 per cent of cashew nuts, etc.

"In her desire to promote the development of Indian industry the USSR is buying increasing quantities of jute manufactures and sacks, leather footwear and woollen cloth as well as coconut fibre products and hand-made goods.

"The good results of friendly economic cooperation are primarily attributable to the way the Soviet Union in its relations with India and other states adheres strictly to the principle of equality and mutual benefit."

The rest of Velikiy's article consists of further statements to the effect that Soviet-Indian trade is in every respect mutually advantageous followed by a passage stressing the value of the most-favoured-nation treatment, and the establishment of a clearing system for payments which are features of the November 1958 agreement. Indian sources are quoted in support of that agreement.

### Oil

Ivanov's article begins by stating that for decades specialists from Britain and the USA argued that India was without industrial (sic) oil-fields, and that the American Standard Vacuum Oil Company was guilty of "open, barefaced sabotage" in failing to set up oil-derricks during the period of its four-year contract in West Bengal. "But", the writer continues, "the shady plans of the colonizers miscarried. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries lent India a fraternal helping hand."

Ivanov then gives a chronicle of events since the Indian Minister of Mines and Oil, Mr. K.D. Malaviya, visited the Soviet Union in 1955. He mentions the arrival in India of "176 highly-qualified Soviet oil specialists" in 1956 and the work they did there, the technical training given to Indians in the Soviet Union so that "now India has her own qualified oilmen", and the discovery resulting from Soviet aid of oil and gas deposits at Cambay and Jawalamukhi. The news of the Cambay find, Ivanov declares, "swept the whole country. Thus was buried the myth invented by the imperialists that India was without industrial oilfields."

The rest of Ivanov's article reads as follows:

"Speaking of the services rendered by Soviet specialists in discovering oil, K.D. Malaviya declared that the success obtained was to a large extent due to team-work with the experts from the USSR. The newspaper BOMBAY CHRONICLE wrote on the 4th December 1958 that India's dreams of having her own oil could not have been realized without the help from Soviet specialists.

"Prospecting and the boring of test wells continue. In 1959, according to the newspaper TIMES OF INDIA, it is planned to bore between six and ten wells in the Cambay region. Wells have also been laid in other parts of the country, including Khoshnapur and Jawalamukhi.

"In addition the Soviet Government has agreed to help in the construction of an oil refinery with an annual output of two million tons. The Rumanian Government has signed an agreement with the Indian Government to construct an oil processing plant with an annual output of 750,000 tons. As the journal NEW AGE remarked, "this will effect an annual saving of 100m. rupees on account of the reduction in oil imports as well as the suspension of profit payments to foreign firms to the extent of 40 or 50 per cent".

#### Azerbaijdzhan and India

N. Muradov's article is translated in full.

"N. Radzhabov, construction engineer of the Lieutenant Shmidt factory, has returned from India where he went with a group of Soviet oilmen for the installation of four drilling rigs (burovyye ustanovki) for structural-prospecting drilling (strukturno-poiskovoye bureniye).

"These drilling rigs were sent to India by the mechanics of the Azerbaijdzhan Council of National Economy (Sovnarkhoz) along with a gusher fitting (fontannaya armatura), master preventers (plashechnyye preventery), drilling derricks (burovyye vyshki), clay mixers, a derrick installation hoist (pod'yemnik dlya montazha vyshek), 'AzINmash-11' depth winch

apparatus (agregaty glubinnoy lebedki 'AzINmash-11') and a large quantity of other equipment.

"For several months Radzhabov and assembly mechanic (slesar' po sborke) Osipovich have been in charge of work on the installation of drilling rigs, and now Soviet oilmen are carrying out drilling in the area.

"The economic links between Azerbaydzhan and the friendly Indian republic develop and grow stronger year by year. Our factories have carried out very many orders for India, supplying very complicated equipment and instruments adapted to tropical conditions.

"The large consignment of tubing manufactured by the metallurgists of the Azerbaydzhan tube-rolling mill has won high praise from our Indian friends. Mr. Rahman, the chief specialist of the Ministry of Fuel and Oil visited the tube-rolling section of the factory and expressed gratitude to the personnel (kollektiv) for the high quality of the tubes produced.

"The Baku factories for electrical apparatus, bearings and instrument manufacture have also carried out orders for India.

"The machine construction enterprises of the Azerbaydzhan Council of National Economy recently received an order to deliver to the Indian Republic in the second and third quarters of 1959 a large amount of oil equipment, underground machinery, apparatus and instruments (pribory i instrumenty).

"Portable laboratories for examining the quality of drilling fluid (glinistyye rastvory) and Petrosyan apparatus (apparaty Patrosyana) for measuring the curvature in wells being drilled will be manufactured by the collective (kollektiv) of the Baku instrument manufacturing factory.

"The machine constructors of the B. Sardarov factory will send powerful hydraulic jacks (gidravlicheskiye domkraty) of 300 tons load-lifting capacity and a clay mixer. The Lenin, Kirov and Kasimov factories will also join in carrying out this order.

"'AzINmash-22' tube-carriers (trubovozki), a tractor hoist (traktornyy pod"yemnik), several thousand locks (zamki) for drilling tubes Yakovlev apparatus (apparaty Yakovleva) and many other things will be dispatched this year to India.

"Stronger and stronger grows the friendship between the toilers of Azerbaydzhan and India."

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The above are typical examples of Soviet writings on economic relations with less developed countries. They show the sort of briefing given to Soviet technicians being sent to Asia and Africa and invariably stress the contribution made by Soviet machinery exports to the industrial progress of the less developed countries. In fact, however, the Soviet contribution is small: it is estimated that only 2.4 per cent of India's total imports were from the Soviet Union in 1958. Soviet statistics would probably claim a higher share - perhaps twice as much.

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#### Soviet book exhibition at Gazibad

An exhibition of Soviet books opened at Gazibad, near Delhi.

P. 25.8.59

#### Indian books for Turkmens

A number of Indian books are being translated into their mother tongue for the workers of Turkmenistan.

TI. 23.8.59

#### Sanskrit encyclopaedia translated into Russian

The first Russian translation of the ARTHASHASTRA (The Science of Politics), described as a Sanskrit encyclopaedia of the life of ancient India, has been published by the Leningrad department of the AN/SSSR Press.

IZVESTIYA, 30.8.59

#### Delegation of Indo-Soviet cultural society visits Tashkent

A delegation of the Indo-Soviet cultural society, led by Harcharan Sing a professor of Delhi University, arrived in Tashkent on 9th September.

PV. 10.9.59

#### Indian railway workers visit Uzbekistan

A delegation of Indian railway workers spent two days in Uzbekistan at the end of a visit to the Soviet Union. They left Tashkent for India on 30th June.

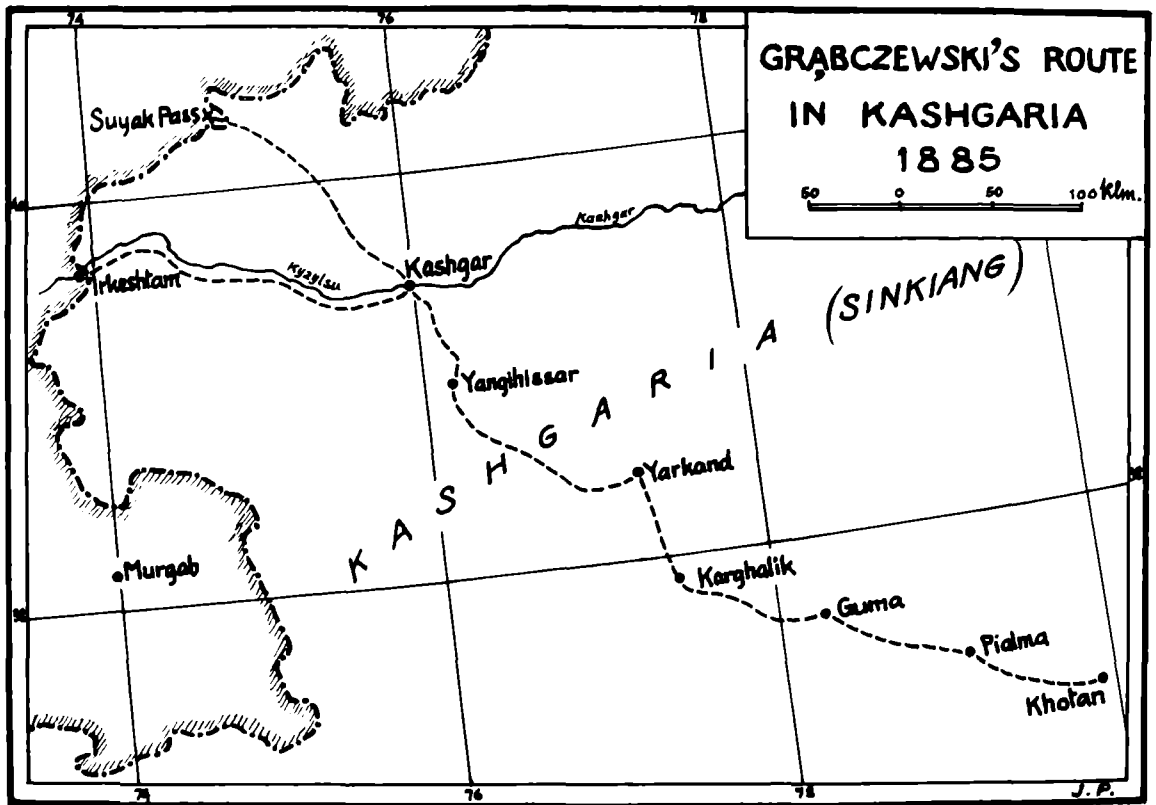
PV. 1.7.59

A POLISH TRAVELLER  
IN SINKIANG

In the 1920s three books appeared in Warsaw, in which Bronislaw Grąbczewski described his travels between 1885-90 in Kashgaria, Tibet, Kandzhut, the Hindu Kush and the present Kirgizia and Tadzhikistan. These books subsequently became very rare owing to the wholesale destruction of libraries during the war and, as they are of considerable geographical and ethnographical interest, in 1958 they were published by the State Scientific Publishing House, Warsaw in a single volume entitled *PODRÓŻE PO AZJI ŚRODKOWEJ* (Travels in Central Asia).

Grąbczewski (1855-1926) was the son of a well-to-do landowner in Lithuania, whose participation in the Polish insurrection of 1863 against Russia caused his estate to be confiscated and its owner to be sent to Siberia. His family was forced to leave Lithuania and settled in Warsaw where his son received middle school education. Subsequently he entered the Mines Institute in St.Petersburg, but he soon abandoned his studies in order to join the Tsarist army. Nevertheless the knowledge of mineralogy, geology and topography which he had acquired at the Institute proved valuable during his travels. After some years spent in Warsaw he was transferred to the Russian army in Central Asia, just after Russia had conquered the khanates of Khiva and Bukhara and was consolidating her position in Turkestan. During this time Grąbczewski became well acquainted with the native population and learned to speak Tadzhik and the local Turkic languages like a native. When the war was over, he began to work in the military administration of the conquered country and his duties included control of the demarcation of the Russo-Chinese frontier in the Fergana region. This led to his first journey in 1885. In 1888 his second journey took him to the emirate of Kandzhut on the southern slopes of the Karakoram; the scientific value of his researches there was acknowledged by the St.Petersburg Geographical Society which conferred a gold medal upon him. In 1889 he set out for Kafiristan, a country still little known to Europeans, but a civil war in Afghanistan diverted him to Tibet and Kashgaria. On this journey, at Sary-Kamysh in the Raskem valley, he met a large English expedition led by Captain Younghusband, "an intelligent and courteous man who made a very good impression on me. We spent two days talking but this did not make us forget our scientific work . . ." (1) Younghusband, later the President of the Royal Geographical Society, mentioned the meeting in 1926 in *THE GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL* and spoke with appreciation of Grąbczewski's researches.





The first book of the series, *KASHGARIA*, in which Grabczewski describes his journey of 1885, is of special interest to students of the borderlands of Soviet Central Asia. Let the author explain its origin:

"I was then attached for special duties to General Ivanov, the Governor of Fergana. The Russo-Chinese treaty of 1883 provided that the posts demarcating the frontier between these powers should every three years be checked and adjusted by representatives of the two Governments. This task on the Russian side was entrusted to me. From Margelan, where I then lived, I was to go to Kashgar where the main Chinese authorities resided, and having there received instructions from the Russian Consul, set out with the Chinese delegate for the frontier, which passed along the peaks of the Tien Shan. This part of the frontier was marked by fourteen posts standing at the fourteen passes of the Tien Shan through which one could pass from China into Russia.

"In order to give some idea of contemporary official conditions in Russia, I should add that for the expenses of my journey to a neighbouring country where I was to represent Russia and together with the representative of China ride on horseback seven hundred kilometres along the Tien Shan, the highest mountain range in that part of the Asian highland, I received an advance of 200 rubles, account of which I was to render after my return. Being then a lieutenant, I was allowed 30 kopeks a day for my own expenses, as well as the progon for the maintenance of one and a half (sic) horses at the rate of one and a half kopeks per horse per kilometre. How one could possibly make the journey with one and a half horses in those formidable mountains and in a country inhabited by nomads where everything, that is bedding, tents, tinned food and so on had to be taken with one - it was a secret known only to the Russian supply corps. But orders are orders and I undertook to carry them out. An irresistible curiosity to see lands at that time completely unknown drew me abroad.

"I received my orders on 7th August and on the 10th I was already on my way from Margelan to Osh, with a retinue of five Orenburg Cossacks and two native dzhigits who were my personal servants. Two horses carried the baggage."(2)

Beyond the Russian fort of Irkeshtam Grabczewski entered Chinese territory and thence followed the course of the Kyzylsu to Kashgar. There the dao-tay, the Chinese governor of the country, and the zung-tun, commander of Chinese troops in the province, received him ceremoniously with a full display of Chinese etiquette. On 28th August Grabczewski left Kashgar in the direction of the Fergana border where Wan-da-loye, the Chinese frontier inspector, was to wait for him on 2nd September near the Suyak pass. After a five days' journey they met, and spent the following twelve days travelling along the 672km. frontier line and checking on the way, the state and position of the tall stone pillars standing at the twelve passes of the Tien Shan through which Russian Central Asia was accessible from China. The uneventful tour was about to be completed at Irkeshtam, with nothing significant to report when trouble started unexpectedly. The official map of the frontier, approved by both Governments, mistakenly called the little river of Irkeshtam Maltabar and, though there was no other river in the district which could be taken for the real Maltabar, Wan-da-loye argued that the Russian fort was in fact built on Chinese territory and should therefore be abandoned. The matter was serious in view of the importance of a fort situated right on the border at the point where the Irkeshtam river joined the Kyzylsu. It guarded two valleys through which two main routes pass from China into Fergana. Although it was small and of no strategic importance, it was valuable as an observation point for "an officer who lived there and maintained good relations with the Kirgiz nomads inhabiting the mountains on the Chinese side could always keep well informed on what was going on in Kashgaria".(3)

Disputes and search for the real Maltabar dragged on for five days until Grąbczewski declared that, since the Chinese would not accept the existing situation, the matter should be referred to the dao-tay of Kashgar. So on 19th September he departed for Kashgar, leaving his Chinese colleague at Irkeshtam, where he hoped with the help of the local Kirgiz to find the Maltabar on the Russian side of the border and thus to prove that the fort should be destroyed. At Kashgar the situation was further complicated owing to the consul Petrovskiy's absence on leave and the dao-tay stubbornly supporting Wan-da-loye's point of view. Finally the dao-tay suggested that the matter should be submitted to Lu, the chief supervisor of the "New Frontier", residing at Urumchi. As he reckoned that it would take a month to receive Lu's answer, he invited Grąbczewski to stay meanwhile at Kashgar as his "dear guest". Grąbczewski does not say how the dispute was finally settled except that Lu decided that the matter exceeded his powers and passed it on to Peking.

Grąbczewski readily accepted the invitation "hoping that thus I shall have time to see more of Kashgaria which was unknown to me and to learn about its trade and industry and also that I could find a way to penetrate to its southern region as far as Khotan. The country strongly attracted me because at one time the most famous Russian traveller, Colonel Przhevalskiy, had come to Khotan from Tibet. After resting there, he had gone northwards across the Gobi desert and returned to Russia through Zaysan post in western Siberia. If I could reach Khotan, my research could complete Przhevalskiy's topographical survey of Turkestan and thus a huge area of unknown Central Asia would be surveyed and described."(4)

The opportunity soon presented itself. With the zung-tan's permission Grąbczewski was watching the training of the local troops when he was suddenly attacked and wounded by two soldiers, who apparently took him for a spy. In fact he says that he merely wanted to gather information on the state of the Chinese army, which was new to the Russian Government. The incident enabled him to obtain as a sort of compensation the dao-tay's permission to go to Khotan.

The rest of the book is devoted to a description of Kashgaria which testifies to Grąbczewski's wide interests and talent for observation. It gives account of things so diverse as wild life, inns, the Chinese judicial system and official corruption, goitre, and other local diseases, the cultivation of rice, taxes and Anglo-Russian rivalry in that part of Asia, to mention but a few. From Kashgar he travelled via Yangihissar, Yarkand, Karghalik, Guma and Pialma and on 24th October he arrived at Khotan, only to start the return journey four days later. On his arrival at Kashgar he learned that the frontier dispute had been passed on by Lu to higher authorities; so he considered his mission completed and left Kashgar on 16th November; nine days later he was back at Osh.

"At Margelan I applied myself to arranging and systematizing the results of my expedition. I wrote AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO KASHGAR AND SOUTH KASHGARIA IN 1885. It was printed in a hundred copies by order of our local authorities and sent to military headquarters and learned societies. It contained a detailed account of the journey and all the information I had obtained on Chinese troops, the administration of Kashgaria, its trade, industry and mineral resources. To this I added a map of Kashgaria on which I located the roads in the 900km. between the Russian fort of Irkeshtam and Khotan; the basis of this was my topographical survey of the region. There were also plans of all the fortresses I had seen. Moreover, in eight appendixes I described in detail the roads along which I had travelled, all the passes of the Tien Shan as well as the trade routes to India, Kashmir and Lesser Tibet, details of which I had found out from merchants. The Russian Geographical Society conferred on me a silver medal for this work. . ." (5) The Tsar also proved generous and in 1886 he rewarded Grabczewski with a sum of 1,000 rubles "for a useful work concerning Kashgaria".

It is difficult to say whether it was simply curiosity which made Grabczewski amass all this information on Kashgaria. Now and again he drops a hint that his Kashgar expedition had a purpose wider than the declared one. Thus, for example, he says that he did not wish to go to Khotan in the company of one of the zung-tun's generals "because in his presence I could not engage in topographical research, see the country without interference, talk with the natives, collect secret information on the activities of British agents, trade, industry, and taxes which the Chinese Government extorted from the people - in short, I would miss everything which constituted the real value of the journey". (6) But though later Grabczewski was raised to the rank of a general and became governor of Astrakhan', his political liberalism resulted in his disgrace when in 1905 he protested against Stolypin's repressions. He was released from government service and "strongly advised" to go abroad without delay "to repair his health". This was the end of his career in Russia.

### Notes

- (1) TRAVELS, p.489.
- (2) Ibid., pp.19-20.
- (3) Ibid., p. 47.
- (4) Ibid., pp.102-3.
- (5) Ibid., p.213.
- (6) Ibid., p.112.

T H E I N T E R N A L P O L I C I E S O F Y A Q U B B E K  
O F K A S H G A R

The following is an abridged translation of D. Tikhonov's article: "Questions of the internal policy of Yaqub Bek" which appeared in UCHENYYE ZAPISKI INSTITUTA VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, XVI, 1958, pp.109-37. It seems to be the only account of Yaqub Bek to have been written in the Soviet Union since 1953\*, and is an attempt to deal with his rule from a narrowly Marxist socio-economic point of view. The article suffers from a lack of material necessary for such an approach - which the author admits - and the conclusions are often drawn from the slenderest evidence. This long article (7000 words) is diffuse, repetitive, and sometimes contradictory.

The chief sources used are: TAARIKH-I EMINE (A History of the Rulers of Kashgaria) by Mulla Musa ben Mulla Aysa (Kazan', 1905); KASHGARIYA by A.N. Kuropatkin (St.Petersburg, 1879); OCHERKI VERKHNEY TATARII, YARKENDA I KASHGARA by Robert Shaw (a Russian translation published in St.Petersburg in 1872); and REPORT OF A MISSION TO JARKUND IN 1873 UNDER THE COMMAND OF SIR T.D. FORSYTH (Calcutta, 1875). In addition the author has used archive material, mostly military reports, from the Uzbek State Archives.

Tikhonov attempts to show every aspect of Yaqub Bek's rule in the darkest light. He emphasizes the oppressions and corruption but makes no attempt to compare conditions under Yaqub Bek with the infinitely worse ones of the preceding period. No mention is made of the fact that Yaqub Bek was bitterly anti-Russian, that he had commanded the defence of Tashkent against the Russians in 1864 before fleeing to Kashgar. And no mention is made of Yaqub Bek's immense prestige as an Islamic ruler of remarkable powers.

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\* In 1953 an article by V. Shakhmatov and F. Kireyev entitled "O reaktsionnoy sushchnosti gosudarstva Yakubbeka - agenta anglüskikh kolonizatorov" (The Reactionary Character of the Administration of Yaqub Bek, Agent of the British Colonizers), appeared in VESTNIK AN/KAZ. SSR, No.4(97), Alma-Ata, 1953.

In the nineteenth century the Chinese Empire, still ruled by the Manchu dynasty, was swept by a series of popular risings. The defeat of China in the Opium Wars and the success of the Taiping rising further weakened the Empire. The Dungan population of the western provinces of Shensi and Kansu rose in revolt and the rising spread to Dzhungaria and Kashgaria (the modern Sinkiang). The population of these outlying provinces suffered an acute economic crisis: the subsidies from the central government ceased and supplementary taxes were imposed for the upkeep of the administration and garrisons. Local officials resorted to extortions and corruption. The peasantry were ruined.

In 1864 the oasis-dwellers of Dzhungaria and Kashgaria rose in revolt. The Chinese army, fully occupied with the Taiping rising and with the Dungans of Shensi and Kansu, were powerless. Although the rebels were mostly peasants and artisans, the Muslim clergy and local feudalists quickly took control of the uprising. In Kuchar, Rashid-uddin Khoja (Khan Khoja) seized power, in Khotan, Habibulla (Hajji padishah). Kashgar was ruled first by the Kirgiz Sadyk Bek and then by Buzruk Khan. Other small principalities arose in other districts.

In 1865 Yaqub Bek came from Kokand to Kashgar and, caught by chance on the crest of the wave of the popular rising, set about winning himself a kingdom. He appointed his own followers to be local officials in place of those who had abused their positions and thus won himself popular support. His first task was to attack Yarkand, and after this success, with an increasing number of troops, took Khotan. In the summer of 1867 he took Kuchar with an army of 15,000 and thus controlled the whole of Kashgaria. He next turned his attention to Dzhungaria. He started a quarrel with the Dungan sultanate over a frontier dispute. The Dungans invaded Kashgaria in the spring of 1870 and even captured Kuchar, but Yaqub Bek counter-attacked and took Urumchi in the autumn of 1870. He made no changes in the administration of the Dungan sultanate and even left Davud Khalfa as ruler. Thus he won the Dungans as allies. There now remained only the Taranchi sultanate in the Ili valley to complete his kingdom. But in 1871 the area was occupied by Russian troops who checked Yaqub Bek's advance.

Yaqub Bek entered into diplomatic relations with the Sultan of Turkey and with Britain, and tried to encourage trade with British India. But his policy was not directed at creating an economically strong and integrated kingdom. Dzhungaria and Kashgaria were economically independent of each other and even in Kashgaria the oases had little contact with one another.

#### The administrative system

The whole country was divided into districts (okrugi) of which there were nine or ten in Kashgaria. The districts were sub-divided into aksakal

(headman) divisions which in turn were divided into villages (kishlak). The district was administered by a hakim (governor) and the aksakal division by a sarkar. None of these officials received a salary from the central treasury. The hakim was "leased" his area and in return furnished the central government with grain and money. He could appoint his own administration and kept his own troops. Yaqub Bek appointed and dismissed the hakims at will.

Lesser officials, including the sarkars and judges, were also appointed by Yaqub Bek, and were responsible for raising taxes and administering justice. None of these numerous officials received a salary, but they lived from voluntary gifts and rewards, and many amassed considerable fortunes. It was customary for lesser officials to make gifts to their superiors, and for the hakims to make gifts to Yaqub Bek. The hakim of Khotan, for instance, equipped a caravan with gold dust, silver, costly furs, and rich materials.

Corruption was of course inevitable under such a system and an official was only dismissed if his extortions became too excessive. The judges were notoriously corrupt and susceptible to bribery. The great majority of Yaqub Bek's officials were fiscal or military whose chief task was to extort taxes and supplementary levies from the people. This necessitated troops and innumerable tax gatherers, judges, and clergy.

One of the difficulties of studying Yaqub Bek's internal policy is the absence of legal documents of the period. The chief sources must thus be travellers' accounts, reports of officials and merchants, and local sources. But these works do not give a complete picture. Thus there is no official documentation on the peasant land tenure. Much useful information is to be found in the works of A.N. Kuropatkin and T.D. Forsyth who both visited Yaqub Bek's kingdom; but many of the conclusions drawn by these authors are mistaken especially as they tend to ascribe Yaqub Bek's policies to his personal character.

As supreme ruler, Yaqub Bek controlled his country's legislation, armed forces, trade, foreign relations, finance and civil administration. He owned all land and could lease it or grant it at will. Land was also sold by the ruler to the moneyed classes who would lease it to the peasantry. Yaqub Bek made grants of land to religious foundations but forbade the peasantry to bequeath their land as waqf bequests. This was not to help the peasantry but rather to weaken the power of the clergy who could thus only receive land from Yaqub Bek himself.

But he took great pains to win the clergy to his side. He did this by strictly enforcing Islamic law. All women were to be veiled in public. Alcohol and gambling were forbidden. The clergy were exempt from various taxes. Many new mosques were built. Religious foundations were granted

large estates of land. By these measures Yaqub Bek succeeded in winning the support of all ranks of the clergy.

This policy of winning personal allegiance Yaqub Bek applied in all fields of administration. At first he appointed only his own followers from Kokand to the higher administrative posts but soon he began to win the support of local feudalists and to appoint them to important positions. His state was a feudal and military one in which little attention was paid to the impoverished lower classes who more than once rose in revolt. He never secured his position by winning general popular support and could never relax his military vigilance.

### Types of dependence

One British writer, Robert Shaw, states that Yaqub Bek abolished the slave trade, but other sources contradict this, and it seems likely that prisoners taken in battle were used as slaves. But there were other more widespread forms of dependence: lands which had formerly belonged to the Manchu state were frequently granted by Yaqub Bek together with their inhabitants to his officials or generals. Although the peasants were not legally bound personally to the landlord, yet as a source of revenue they were tied to the land. And as taxes were usually excessive, many of the peasantry were indebted to their landlords. Moreover, army officers were often paid by the revenue from houses or villages and thus the inhabitants of these villages or houses were tied to the one man to whom they had to pay tax. Robert Shaw asserts that under Yaqub Bek there was no system of payment by labour, but this is not true. There was forced labour on quite a large scale for government works.

### The tax system

Many classes were exempt from taxation and thus the whole burden of taxation fell on the peasants and artisans. Corruption was so widespread that it became almost legal. The state's chief revenue was from direct taxes, though there were also various supplementary levies, some temporary and some permanent, and certain revenue came from tariffs.

The settled population paid ushr (or kharaaj) which amounted officially to one-tenth of the grain harvest. The tanap levy was imposed on gardens, cotton fields, tobacco plantations, and other non-grain cultivations. Cattle-breeders paid ziakat as did the merchants. Unlike the other taxes mentioned, the ziakat was usually paid in money rather than in kind. All these taxes were frequently imposed at a rate higher than that laid down by law.



There are no overall figures for Yaqub Bek's revenue, but such figures as are known for certain districts show that there were striking differences in the amounts paid by different districts. For instance, the Yangihissar district paid four times more kharaj than the Kalpi or Aksu districts.

Of the supplementary levies, the most burdensome were those for the upkeep of embassies travelling through the land and the konalgu for the upkeep of the army. The local population of the area through which the troops were passing were charged with the supply of fodder, fuel and food supplies, and as Yaqub Bek was almost continually at war, this duty was extremely burdensome to the population.

Corruption was rife in all forms of tax-gathering and it frequently happened that the produce collected from the population would be sold back to them. More burdensome even for the peasant was the forced labour system. The richer classes could buy themselves out of this duty which thus fell on the shoulders of the poorest classes. Forced labour was conscripted for repairing roads, bridges and city walls, and for building canals.

It was customary for merchants, hakims, and other notables to make gifts to Yaqub Bek and frequently these gifts were of great value. Moreover anyone wishing to appear at court brought with him a gift for the ruler. In general, it can confidently be stated that Shaw's assertions that there was a single universal tax amounting to one-tenth of the harvest and that there was no corruption among officials are mistaken.

### Industry

In spite of Kashgaria's rich natural resources, industry was only rudimentary. Both mining and processing were local, handwork occupations. Most peasants and their families did some handwork at home in order to supplement their incomes. Thus artisan production in the towns developed slowly.

Mining and metal-working were barely developed and metal was imported from Russia. At Yangihissar some iron ore was mined and worked. Labour conditions in the coal mines were appalling and the miners were for the most part homeless and destitute people who could find no other work. Copper was mined in several places and there was a copper-smelting works near Kashgar and a mint at Aksu. Certain other minerals were also mined in small quantities. Gold was mined in the Khotan oasis and was an important source of revenue for Yaqub Bek.

Cotton spinning and weaving was widespread, and the looms were of the most primitive design. Most weavers worked with their own yarn and on their own machine but there were some employers with two or three weavers working

for them. Carpets were produced in Yarkand and Khotan, and Khotan was also famed for its silk. Yaqub Bek took no measures to develop industry. He opened some military workshops, but these of course could not improve the country's economic condition.

### Conclusions

All evidence shows that Yaqub Bek was a feudal ruler, that in his kingdom peasants and artisans were tied and that slavery continued. He took no progressive actions in the field of agriculture or industry. The military-feudal regime and high taxes intensified the class struggle. Popular discontent showed itself in emigration and rebellions. When the Manchu armies advanced into Sinkiang once more, the working population made no effort to defend Yaqub Bek's oppressive regime.

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### Editorial Note

It is of some interest that the article on Yaqub Bek in the First Edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Vol.65(1931), describes him approvingly as "the leader of a Muslim national liberation movement. . . against the colonial policy of the Russian autocracy in Central Asia". The Second Edition has no separate article on Yaqub Bek, but in the historical section of the article on the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region (1956), he is represented as a tool of the British, "whose anti-popular policy deprived him of the support of the people". The first indication of this abrupt change in historiographical policy was observed in 1953 in the VESTNIK of the Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences. (See Note on p.403.) The change in the facts of history was of course necessitated by the Chinese Communist Revolution of 1949.

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### Soviet gift for Indian flood victims

The Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent received a message from Mr. Nehru thanking them for a gift of 80,000 rupees for the flood victims in Jammu and Kashmir.

KZ. 2.8.59

## N E W S    D I A R Y

## AFGHANISTAN, INDIA, PAKISTAN, PERSIA, SINKIANG

The following diary includes items from newspapers and periodicals received during the period April - September 1959 in the case of Persia, and July - September 1959 inclusive in all other cases. In view of the variety of sources from which the information has been collected, contradictions may occur; no responsibility can be taken for the accuracy of the information given but the source is given for each item.

A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the REVIEW.

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AFGHANISTAN

A protocol signed between Poland and Afghanistan in the fourth quarter of 1958 envisages transactions to a total value of \$4m. Details of the increased import-export list are given. Details are also given of an agreement to the opening in Kabul of a permanent Polish exhibition and the employment of Polish experts in Afghanistan. FET. July 1959

August 2nd. An Afghan Government delegation left Moscow for Afghanistan after signing agreements which envisage a further increase in economic and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. P. 3.8.59

21st. Work was completed on the first stage of Bagram airfield, built with the cooperation of Soviet and Afghan specialists. The first aircraft to land, a TU-104, brought Soviet specialists and visitors of various nationalities. BR., KP., PV. 23.8.59; P. 25.8.59

A protocol to the Afghan-Soviet agreement on technical aid has been signed, enabling Russia to help in the construction of an Afghan canal. T. 25.8.59

September 6th. The Soviet writers Berdy Kerbabayev and Satym Ulug-Zade left Kabul for the Soviet Union after attending the celebrations for the 41st anniversary of Afghan independence at the invitation of the Afghan Press Department. KT. 9.9.59

Rumanian oil experts have discovered rich oil deposits in northern Afghanistan. (See also CAR, Vol.VII, No.2, p.205.) T. 2.9.59

A document dated 1926 proclaiming Turkmen-Afghan friendship and mislaid for 33 years has just been found. TI. 4.9.59

## INDIA

India's transactions with Poland amounted in 1958 to 35m. rubles. The two countries have signed a contract under which Poland is to build two steel construction plants and to deliver equipment for a factory of electric motors. Details are given of the trade agreement signed between the two countries in the fourth quarter of 1958. (See CAR, Vol.VII, No.1, p.102 and No.3, p.306.) FET. July 1959

May 14th. A long-term trade-and-payments agreement was signed between India and Rumania in Bucharest. Details given. FET. July, September 1959

30th. A protocol to the India-Czechoslovakia trade agreement of March 7th (see CAR, Vol.VII, No.3, p.304) was signed in Prague. Details given. FET. July, September 1959

June 15th. The 1954 trade agreement between India and Hungary was extended in Budapest. Two-way trade is to be more than doubled. Mr. A. Nagaraja Rao, of India's Ministry of Commerce and Industry, recently visited Budapest and expressed great interest in Hungary's aluminium industry. FET. July, August 1959

July 2nd. Soviet representatives of TEKHNOEKSPORT presented the Indian Ministry of Commerce and Industry with the technical project for the optical glass factory (annual output 210 tons) to be built with Soviet assistance at Durgapur, Assam. (See CAR, Vol. VI, No.1, pp.97, 99 and No.4, p.473.) BR., KP. 4.7.59

11th-16th. Six concerts were given by Indian artists visiting Tashkent. PV. 9, 14.7.59

28th. Humayun Kabir, Indian Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, left the Soviet Union for India after visiting Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara. He arrived on July 8th at the invitation of the Soviet Ministry of Culture and the State Committee for Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries. P. 9.7.59; PV. 24, 26, 29.7.59

30th. The Indian Government has accepted an offer of aid totalling 1,500m. rubles by the Soviet Union. The offer was made during the visit of an Indian economic mission to Moscow last May. (See CAR, Vol.VII, No.3, p.305.) P. and T. 31.7.59

A branch of the Indo-Soviet Society for the Strengthening of Cultural Ties has been opened in Calcutta. PV. 4.7.59

At Noonmati, Assam, work has begun on the first of the two oil refineries to be established in the public sector with Rumanian aid. (See CAR, Vol.VII, No.1, p.101.) FET. August 1959

Czechoslovakia is to supply the equipment for an engineering metallurgy plant at Ranchi, in Bihar State. The Skoda firm's contract, worth £21m., is for a forge and foundry. (See CAR, Vol.VI, No.3, p.362 and No.4, p.472.) According to the Indian Minister of Industry the plant will be completed by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan.

The two new Czech cement plants for Uttar Pradesh will have a daily capacity of 350 tons each, while the one to be supplied to Rajapalajam, near Madras, will have a capacity of 200 tons a day. (See CAR, Vol.VI, No.4, p.473.) FET. August, September 1959

August 13th. An agreement was signed in Delhi for the opening of a Czech airline between Prague and Bombay. (See CAR, Vol.VII, No. 3, p.306.) KZ. 15.8.59; SK. 16.8.59

20th. A delegation of the Delhi Municipal Council, headed by the Mayor, Mr. Trilok Chand Sharma, arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet. BR., PV., TI. 22.8.59; FET. September 1959

31st. A conference of Soviet and Indian oil specialists which opened at Dehra Dun on August 23rd ended today. (See CAR, Vol. VII, No.3, p.305.) P. 24.8.59; PV., TI. 25.8.59; BR., TI. 3.9.59

Details are given of the Soviet-Indian agreement to manufacture drugs and surgical instruments which was signed on May 29th. (See CAR, Vol.VII, No.3, p.305.) FET. September 1959

Russian experts have completed a design for an open-cast coal-mining plant with an annual capacity of 2m. tons of fuel to be built at the site of the Korba coal deposits. (See CAR, Vol.VI, No.2, p.240.) FET. September 1959

Czechoslovakia has expressed willingness to assist in the manufacture of small cars costing between £375 and £525. The project envisages a plant producing about 25,000 units a year with a number of feeder industries. Czechoslovak machinery and technical assistance is also being made available for the production of tractors for mechanized reclamation work. FET. September 1959

The trade agreement between India and Bulgaria signed in April 1956 and revised in June 1957 has been extended by the recent signing of protocols in Sofia. (See CAR, Vol.VI, No.3, p.361.) FET. September 1959

September 14th. Mr. B.K. Nehru, Indian Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs, left Moscow for India. He had since his arrival on August 20th, taken part in talks on the expansion of economic contracts between the Soviet Union and India which concluded with the signing of an agreement on September 12th following on the Indian acceptance of Soviet aid on July 30th. (See above.) BR., PV., TI. 22.8.59; P. 13, 15.9.59; T. 14.9.59; FET. September 1959

## PAKISTAN

Pakistan's transactions with Poland amounted in 1958 to 21m. rubles. FET. July 1959

May 28th. A triangular agreement has been reached between Pakistan, Czechoslovakia and Indonesia, which covers Pakistan imports from Czechoslovakia of machinery and equipment for mining in West Pakistan and for peat in East Pakistan. FET. September 1959

June 12th. The Soviet Ambassador at Karachi declared that the Soviet Union is prepared to give economic and technical aid to Pakistan, in particular for irrigation and land reclamation schemes. He added that trade between the two countries, at present insignificant, could be considerably increased and that the Soviet Union would accept payment in Pakistan rupees. ORIENTE MODERNO, June 1959

29th. The Pakistan Foreign Ministry rejected as incorrect and without foundation a Soviet protest alleging that Soviet airspace had been violated during the recent military exercises by Baghdad Pact countries. ORIENTE MODERNO, July 1959

Pakistan is to export shoes to Russia in exchange for clocks and watches. This is the first time that Russia has had other than raw materials from Pakistan. ORIENTE MODERNO, July 1959

## PERSIA

Details are given of the goods to be exchanged between Poland and Persia in 1959 under a protocol complementing the Polish-Persian agreement signed in 1958. Transactions to the amount of £4m. in each direction are envisaged. At the same time Poland is building two sugar factories in Persia. FET. July 1959

April 17th. The new Persian ambassador, A. Massaud Ansari, presented his letters of credence at the Kremlin. P. 18.4.59

May 12th. The possibility of Russian participation in the development of Persian oil resources was mentioned by the Shah at a London Press conference. T. 13.5.59

2nd, 31st. Two Soviet notes were issued in denial of the Persian charge that Soviet aircraft had been violating her airspace. (See also THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER, No.6, 1959, pp.12-13.) P. 4.6.59. (Also reported by KP. and BR.)

June 9th. An article in KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA attributed to American influence an article published in PAYK-E-IRAN, probably in March, allegedly claiming that Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara, Ashkhabad and Chardzhou are "Persian towns". KP. 9.6.59

August 26th. Mr. V. Mayevskiy, writing in PRAVDA, declared that American bases in Persia were a serious threat to Persia's security. P. 26.8.59

## SINKIANG

A plan has been drafted by Kazakh scientists for the construction of a 620-mile waterway linking the Ili, Chu and Syr-Dar'ya rivers thus connecting Sinkiang with the Aral Sea.

FET. July 1959, quoting SOVIET NEWS

September 9th.

A Communist Youth delegation from Sinkiang left Tashkent for Urumchi. Their visit had taken them to Fergana and Samarkand. Fluent Uzbek-speakers were included in the delegation. PV. 10.9.59



